

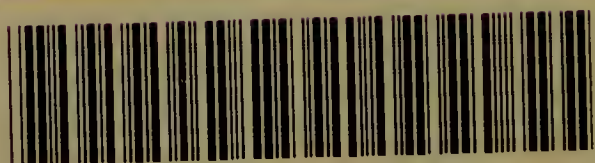
# ALL ABOUT OPIUM





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# ALL ABOUT OPIUM.

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EDITED BY  
HARTMANN HENRY SULTZBERGER,  
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LONDON:  
110, CANNON STREET, E.C.

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1884.

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LONDON :  
WERTHEIMER, LEA AND CO., PRINTERS,  
CIRCUS PLACE, LONDON WALL, E.C.

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## PREFACE.

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My vocation of Foreign Commission Merchant having brought me into contact—amongst scores of other articles—also with “Commercial Opium” ever since my establishment in this country, now nearly thirty years ago, mere curiosity caused me to collect from an early date, any information relating to this drug; while for the last few years I have watched with particular attention the ever-increasing attacks made by the well-known Anti-Opium Society on this most unjustly abused article.

At last the famous Mansion House Meeting of October, 1881, followed as it was, a few months later on, by the no less famous Opium Discussion at the Society of Arts, induced me to reprint at my own expense the almost forgotten chapter on Opium written by Don Sinibaldo de Mas, as by far the best article on the subject I have ever met with, and which is all the more valuable now for having been written a quarter of a century ago, by an entirely disinterested foreigner of such high standing as Don Sinibaldo was in his quality of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Queen of Spain in China.

The decided, though necessarily very limited success of this small French reprint further induced me to have it translated into English, when Mr. W. H. Brereton turned it to such excellent account in the Second Edition of his “Truth about Opium.”

This further encouragement next led me to look over again my heap of accumulated scraps of all sorts relating to the article, in order to ascertain what might be made of a proper selection from amongst their

number ; when I found that, in combination with the full reports of the above named two Meetings as the *con* and the *pro* to start with, the whole would form a most instructive, and here and there even attractive collection of miscellaneous, and in many instances *entirely new evidence* respecting this vexed Opium Question, thus enabling every one to judge for himself on its merits.

RIDGE MOUNT, ANERLEY, S.E.

*January 1st, 1884.*



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N.B.—Owing to some corrections which I had to obtain from Sir Rutherford Alcock, as well as from Sir George Campbell, the chronological succession of the several articles relating to the home evidence has been slightly upset ; the same is as follows :

Mansion House Meeting . . . . .	Oct. 21, 1881	1— 21
Sir George Campbell's Letter to the <i>Times</i> . . . . .	Nov. 10, 1881	190—193
Sir Rutherford Alcock's "Opium and Common Sense" . . . . .	Nov. 30, 1881	194—207
Sir George Birdwood's First Letter to the <i>Times</i> . . . . .	Dec. 26, 1881	22— 26
Sir Rutherford Alcock's Paper at the Society of Arts . . . . .	Jan. 13, 1882	27— 66
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Sir George Birdwood's Second Letter to the <i>Times</i> .. . . .	Jan. 20, 1882	80— 85



## SUMMARY.

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STARTING with the complete report of that "*glorious Anti-Opium meeting*," held at the Mansion House, in October, 1881, I abstain from making any remarks thereon, because as a "*foreigner*," and also a "*trader in the drug*," I think it would be rather bad taste on my part to do so, particularly when considering the exalted positions of the principal speakers on that memorable occasion. For some considerable time after this grand and select assemblage the whole country seemed to be under the spell of its extraordinary display of oratorical power, and like a poor and undefended prisoner, the "*nefarious Opium Traffic*" was generally looked upon as simply foredoomed, only a few isolated newspaper articles having made their appearance from the other side, at rather long intervals, and without any of that systematic cohesion amongst their authors which gives so much apparent importance to all the meetings held by the Anti-Opium Leaguers. From amongst these several isolated pleadings in favour of the Opium Trade I have selected three; *i.e.* two letters addressed to the *Times*, respectively by Sir George Campbell in November, and by Sir George Birdwood in December of the same year, and an Article written by Sir Rutherford Alcock, entitled, "*Opium and Common Sense*," which appeared in the December, 1881, number of the "*Nineteenth Century*." At last the long looked for "*counter demonstration*" was announced in the shape of "*A Paper on the Opium Trade*," to be read at the Society of Arts by Sir Rutherford Alcock, and to be followed by "*a general discussion*," the full reports of both of which I feel sure will be found highly interesting. Sir Rutherford Alcock's masterly and thoroughly exhaustive treatment of this vexed Indo-Chinese Opium Question requires no comment of any sort, but as to the discussion I may be allowed to say that it was much to be regretted that the larger part of the time remaining for it should have been allowed to be literally

wasted by several gentlemen on the other side repeating certain lengthy statements already but too well known from the reports of their own meetings, one of them even stating "*that the only countries for the production of Opium in any quantity were India and China,*" while from the very organ of his own society he ought to have known at least of the existence of Persian Opium. Singular to say, it also so happened that at that very time, we were just recording, both in Turkey and in Persia, the heaviest opium crops which ever had been witnessed, say no less than twenty thousand chests, between these two countries, as will be seen on pages 147-150. Sir George Birdwood's second letter to the *Times* closes the list of the *home evidence* which I have to offer, and I now produce the *foreign evidence* collected by myself, amongst which "*Don Sinibaldo de Mas's*" famous chapter on opium certainly commands precedence both for age and intrinsic value. I first give this chapter in its original "*French*" text, in order to enable the reader to compare the same with its translation, which is a fusion of no less than three independent translations, neither of which had entirely satisfied me, while each contained certain passages in which it surpassed the other two. I venture to hope that, as a free translation, the final result may be found tolerably satisfactory, and I do not think that, when speaking of this chapter, Mr. Brereton is exaggerating in the least by saying in the second edition of his "*Truth about Opium,*" that "*this pamphlet is one of the most powerful vindications of British policy in India and China.*" With the one exception of the statistical figures, which have more than trebled in the interval, the whole of Don Sinibaldo's statements and arguments still hold good at the present day, while, as a matter of course, all his remarks now necessarily apply to the Indian Government instead of its predecessor, the East India Company of former times. Even the indefatigable secretary of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, the Rev. Storrs Turner, to whom for "*etiquette's*" sake I had sent a copy of my reprint of this chapter, could not find any material fault with the contents of it, while what in his letter to me he most appropriately calls "*the author's able and moderate language,*" might most advantageously be taken as a pattern by many a high-born member of the very society of which the Rev. Storrs Turner is the secretary.



I next produce my "*plain and irrefutable evidence from Australia and Peru,*" consisting of two very short letters received in rapid succession. Here we have Mr. Macarthur's plain statement to the effect that in Australia "*the coroner surely would have had something to say on the subject if death ever had been in any case caused by Opium smoking.*" Mr. Macarthur could hardly have put his argument into either a more "*convincing*" or a more "*concise*" form, while at the same time also enjoying the particular advantage of being perfectly open to the test of anybody acquainted with Australian life, an advantage which the sayings of the missionaries most unfortunately do not enjoy to the same absolute extent. I am strongly inclined to believe that if this useful functionary, "*the coroner,*" could be similarly referred to as to the real state of things in China, we never would have been treated to that extraordinary huge "*canard*" of the two millions of annual deaths through opium smoking, which *canard*, though necessarily having originated amongst the missionaries themselves, they were prudent enough to allow to be launched by a nobleman. Although the second letter, the one from Peru, does not refer at all to that important question of the "deaths" resulting from the habit under discussion, I hold it to be equally important evidence to that effect, though only in an indirect way, since it enables us to argue that "*if opium smoking really was deleterious to any degree*" it would be utter folly on the part of those Peruvian employers to go on facilitating the sale of the very drug to their Chinese labourers, while actually having it within their power, owing to the general remoteness of the "*haciendas*" from the towns, to do very much as they please.

The object of my next article, "*The Opium Trade with Peru,*" is two-fold. In the first place, I wish to illustrate the great simplicity with which any "*demand*" naturally leads to its inevitable "*supply,*" even should an ex-schoolmaster have to serve as the medium for it; and, secondly, I also desired to demonstrate the soundness of the principle of "*moderate duties*" with respect to an article so easily smuggled in various ways, owing to its great value in comparison to its bulk. As a counterpart, my chapter entitled "*Opium Smuggling into Cuba,*" is meant to show the inevitable effect produced by "*high*" or so-called "*prohibitive*" duties which, almost without exception, invariably call

into existence wholesale smuggling, even in countries where the custom-house service is supposed to be both perfect as to organisation, and altogether inaccessible to bribes. By the article next following, I hope to establish beyond dispute the utter impossibility of the "*forcing of Opium*" on the Chinese "*in particular*," or, in fact, of any other merchandise on any other nation or country "*in general*." The complete absurdity of this so called "*shorthand expression*" of the Rev. Storrs Turner and his followers, is best demonstrated by its application to one of their own favourite arguments to the effect that, "*if the importation of opium was put a complete stop to, the Chinese would buy ever so much more of our manufactures*," a phrase by which, in other words, we are given to understand that, while on the one side the Opium Merchant is quite unduly credited with having discovered the great secret how to "*force*" his pernicious drug on the Chinese, the Manchester Merchant, on the contrary, is to be looked upon as a mere simpleton, perfectly unable to do the like with his manufactures, and therefore sadly in want of the Rev. Storrs Turner's advice, besides requiring Government assistance in the shape of the "*entire prohibition of the Opium Trade!*" I might easily enlarge, to the extent of several pages, upon the most peculiar notions on commercial matters so frequently met with on the part of these Anti-Opium Leaguers, who in this respect might learn a great deal even from a simple office-boy, but I refrain from doing so, because I am a great admirer of the old German proverb, "*Schuster bleib bei deinem Leist*," which, in my own shorthand style, and for the special appreciation of my opponents, I would translate into our homely, "*Mind your own business*," as equally good and to the point, though not flavoured with that slight touch of Hans Sachs' poetry.

I now come to Mr. Tong Kingsing's highly interesting statement, made before a select meeting at Queen Anne's Mansions, which I reproduce at full length from the "*Friend of China*," the well-known organ of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. Immediately after having gone through this sad tale of all the horrors attending the vice of opium smoking, I was in doubt for a moment whether I had been really awake while reading, or whether I had only just awakened from a frightful nightmare, about a big heap of sweets, and



a mountain of fruit, and a poor Chinaman between the two, actually and bodily drawn into his own opium pipe, and a colossal cloud of absolutely genuine Chinese sincerity floating in the background, and apparently ready to come down by the bucketful and so on. I therefore read the same "*sad tale*" once more, when it gradually became evident to my still confused mind that that phantom of the numberless deaths had, in reality, been caused by Mr. Tong Kingsing's perfectly harmless—" *I have not seen a single case where a man has died because he has given up opium*"—which is his only reference to this all-important question of deaths, besides that really comic quotation of his of a sick opium smoker's helpless and most distressing cry : "*I must die because I am too weak to suck the pipe*"—or eat a pie—which sounds almost as if it came from the nursery, accompanied by one of those "*songs without words*" with which we are all more or less familiar. At this point, both the heap of sweets and the mountain of fruit suddenly collapsed, as if by magic, and that poor John Chinaman, who in the meantime had quietly gone right through his pipe and come out of it "*sano e salvo*" at the other end, gave me one of his plain-visaged smiles, the meaning of which I had no difficulty whatever in understanding, because at the same time he was looking up to that threatening cloud of sincerity now floating just in front of the stage, right above the footlights, whence, all at once, and without doing any further harm, it finally disappeared altogether on my reaching once more Mr. Tong Kingsing's really candid and thoroughly convincing—" *You will find that the home-growth of opium will be so extensive in China that it will eventually drive the Indian drug out of the market.*" My recovery from the severe moral shock received at first was both speedy and complete, and in its stead I now had the most distinct sensation of having acquired the rarest specimen ever yet met with for my collection of scraps about this opium question. It is time now that I should give a description of the drug itself, for which purpose I have selected two articles—the first, a purely descriptive one, taken from "*Chambers' Encyclopædia*," while the latter is from "*McCulloch's Dictionary of Commerce*," and refers more particularly to the Indian drug and its monopoly by the then East India Company. The special merit of this latter article lies in its detailed reference to the first opium war which, in my opinion, it places in its only true light,

and therefore may, even at the present time, still do some good, here and there, by dispelling certain perfectly unnecessary after-grief respecting this, as the anti-opium leaguers would have it, most particularly “*unjust*,” but in reality perhaps far more “*unjustly*,” so-called first opium war. I hardly need say here that, as a foreigner, nothing could be more absolutely indifferent to me than the question whether or not this war was a more or less just one, but since I was particularly struck at the time by a remark made at that famous Mansion House meeting by the then Lord Mayor (McArthur), to the effect that “*he quite agreed with what Mr. Gladstone had said with regard to this war*” . . . (see p. 3), I thought I should be doing wrong by not reproducing the sound conclusions of this article, so entirely in harmony with Don Sinibaldo’s own short rendering of that extraordinarily high-handed act of the famous Lin-tsi-Su. I must not forget to state further that the quotation of Alderman McArthur above referred-to acquires a most peculiar “bouquet” of its own, from the specially-ascertained fact that those very words of Mr. Gladstone’s formed part of a speech made by our able Premier say no less than “*forty-three years ago*,” thus fully entitling anybody to congratulate the ex-Lord Mayor on his perfectly marvellous memory. The next few chapters are devoted to the “*Cultivation of Opium*” in different countries, which led me to give a few extracts from Mr. Colquhoun’s “*Across Chrysé*,” with the further object of showing how most intensely the missionary is hated even in this inaccessible part of China, and how utterly impossible it would be to exercise, in such neighbourhoods at least, the necessary check upon the Chinese home-production of the drug, should any “*pari passu*” undertaking ever be seriously entertained or finally agreed to by our Government.

I now allow my old schoolfellow, the European Mandarin, to say a few words on the subject in general and on Don Sinibaldo’s chapter in particular. The final hint given us here as to the missionary’s real position in China, though expressed in rather strong terms, is in perfect harmony with the experience which we have just gained from Mr. Colquhoun’s book. My own opinion is that, although Prince Kung’s historical request, “*Take away your opium and your missionaries*,” apparently places both the missionary and the opium on precisely the same “*unenviable*”

footing ; the missionary's presence must be infinitely more obnoxious and irritating to the Chinese, because not only does he freely move about amongst them without any tangible business, but also builds those objectionable churches, while, on the other hand, the much abused opium is kept quite out of sight, being packed in cases and stowed away in warehouses which, I have no doubt whatever, are perfectly inaccessible to anyone but the intending purchaser of the article. Moreover we find that while the missionary, most probably, would flatly refuse to leave the country, even if specially asked to do so, the opium, occasionally at least, is quietly removed again from its secluded hiding place so soon as it has become patent to its owner that, for one reason or another, no one wants it, as illustrated by me on pages 118-120. It may be fairly asked, then, which of the two, the missionary or the opium, is the "*really and only true*" illustration of that very shorthand expression of the missionary's own invention (see page 96) ?

I now come to the much abused opium-pipe itself, by giving four separate articles on the habit, the way and the effects of smoking the drug, each of these articles having its own merits on these points, the last one being a real curiosity. Next come my extracts from "*John Chinaman Abroad*," the first of which fully confirms Mr. Macarthur's evidence with respect to opium-smoking in Australia, while the rest will be found acceptable as an interesting speculation on the part of Mr. G. Fitz-Roy Cole, the realisation of which, though not very likely to happen in the present century, yet possibly may become a "*fait accompli*" in the next one. From a dateless 1864 number of the *Daily News* I next produce an ably written article about "*Opium-smoking in the East End of London*," which, although not the only one of this sort amongst my scraps, is by far the best, on account of its most appropriate allusion to the aphorism, "*One man's meat another man's poison*," in the shape of the young athletic Chinese sailor's plain argument, "*You likee tobacco, Sar, you smokee em cigar, me smokee opium, you understand, Sar!*" The next article, though partly also referring to opium, is a mere chance-addition, as are also those extracts from Dr. Kane's book, "*Drugs that Enslave*," the object of which is to give the reader some idea of that



most recently introduced and abominably refined use of the drug, or rather of its chief alkaloid, "*Morphia*," by means of the subcutaneous injections of European invention. I add here also Dr. Kane's opinion about those famous De Quincey confessions, because it coincides exactly with my own idea about this production of a most accomplished "farceur" (for such the author appeared to me to be), after having gone most carefully three times in succession through this little volume, which I would simply class among the Jules Verne. Last in my list come a few extracts from the two rival "*Truths about Opium*," of which Mr. Brereton's is well worth reading, though its arrangement into three long lectures possibly may not be to the taste of every reader. Of Mr. Broomhall's pamphlet I could not "*conscientiously*" say more than that it is remarkably cheap, like everything published by the Anti-Opium Society, and very well got up too, particularly as to its dozen or so of illustrations, which, however, are simply left to speak for themselves. The several extracts which I take from it really relate to one of those Exeter Hall meetings, and the first four of them clearly prove that the anti-opium leaguers are fully aware of the fact that the Indian drug is chiefly, if not exclusively, consumed by the upper classes and the literati of China, and with them takes up an analogous position as with us port or sherry do amongst our wines, or the Havana cigar amongst smokers, *i.e.*, the only particular qualities of these articles fit to be offered to friends. The two last extracts are to stand as illustrations of the kind of evidence and the sort of arguments one meets with at Exeter Hall. Mr. Macdonald's priceless conclusion, "*Many of the officials smoke opium themselves, but then that does not deprive them of feeling for their country*" almost tempted me to travesty it with respect to "*sinning*" and "*preaching*," but fortunately the Hans Sachs poetry came to my mind again just as I was going to do so.

Before concluding I have to return once more to the opening speech of the chairman of that glorious Mansion House meeting of 1881, at the beginning of which, shortly after that "*time-flavoured*," not to say "*musty*," allusion to Mr. Gladstone's words of nearly half a century ago, he dwells upon that high sounding axiom, "*whatever is morally wrong cannot be politically right*," which axiom, notwithstanding its

theoretical correctness, surely cannot be applied to one article of commerce in particular to the entire exclusion of all the others. Thus, a China merchant offering for sale, say a bale of Manchester goods on one side and a chest of opium on the other, is held up by the ex-Lord Mayor as committing nothing short of a great moral wrong by selling his chest of opium to a most willing purchaser, ready to pay hard cash for it, the price stipulated-for most likely including even a very fair profit, while, for some reason or other, his bale of grey cloth or shirtings may fail to tempt any of the hoped-for customers, sometimes even if offered at a great loss. I sincerely believe that, with respect to this most incredibly persistent Anti-Opium Agitation, Sir Rutherford Alcock has virtually hit the right nail on the head with his concluding paragraph : "I have no fancy myself for tilting at windmills, but if there be any well-intentioned and philanthropic enthusiasts who have, I cannot but think they would do better to try their powers on those nearer home ; and there is one of colossal proportions ever ready for the assault at their own door, which I firmly believe works more destruction in a day in this land, than opium in a year amongst the millions of China" ; while, in my humble opinion, the opium smoking propensity of our celestial friends in reality is a mere "*mote*" when compared with that particular "*beam*" of our own there hinted at, so much so, in fact, that if Mr. Tong Kingsing ever were to take it into his head to treat his fellow countrymen to an equally vivid statement about our own propensities, I should not wonder if they were to accept it readily as "*one more valid reason*" for their remaining true to the opium pipe, and to have nothing whatever to do with the missionaries' "*great truth*" bearing such fruit in their own country.

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# THE ANTI-OPIUM MEETING

AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

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REPRODUCED FROM THE "NOVEMBER, 1881," NUMBER OF THE  
"FRIEND OF CHINA," THE ORGAN OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE  
SUPPRESSION OF THE OPIUM TRADE.

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## SUMMARY.

WE thank God for the great meeting held at the Mansion House, London, on Friday, October 21st. Those only who shared our first labours in this cause, and remember how coldly our appeals were received by many good men, can fully sympathise in our present joy and gratitude. Lord Mayor McArthur, who invited the large company, seven years ago occupied the chair at the inaugural meeting of the Society, and cheered us on to the work by his sturdy declaration of faith in the maxim that "nothing which is morally wrong can be politically right." True to this conviction, he has steadily supported the movement during seven years of up-hill toil, and at last had his reward when he saw himself supported right and left on the platform by some of the noblest in the land, and heard the echoes of applause which arose from the hundreds before him as he again repeated the same fundamental principle of his political creed.

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## THE MEETING.

A large and influential meeting was held at the Mansion House, London, on Friday, October 21st, 1881, convened by and under the Presidency of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor. There were present on the platform the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of Bedford, the Rev. E. E. Jenkins, late President of the Wesleyan Conference, the Rev. R. J. Simpson, General Tremenhoe, Samuel Gurney, Esq., A. C. P. Coote, Esq., Robert Rae, Esq., Bishop Simpson of Philadelphia, Arthur Albright, Esq., of Birmingham, and Donald Matheson, Esq.

Among those who accepted the Lord Mayor's invitation were the following :—

Sir Arthur Cotton, Rev. Canon Gilbert, E. Sturge, Esq., H. Broadhurst, Esq., M.P., Professor Goldwin Smith, Sir Ernest Bagge, Bart., Rev. C. Clemance, D.D., George Palmer, Esq., M.P., W. S. Allen, Esq., M.P., Thomas Hughes, Esq., Q.C., W. McCullagh Torrens, Esq.,

M.P., Sir J. Risdon Bennett, M.D., F.R.S., ex-President of the Royal College of Physicians, J. Passmore Edwards, Esq., M.P., Colonel R. Cane, Dr. Congreve, Charles McLaren, Esq., M.P., Sir George Young, Colonel Puget, Hon. and Rev. E. C. Glyn, C. Russell Hurditch, Esq., Hon. Arthur Kinnaid, Rev. Dr. Kennedy, Dr. Underhill, J. E. Mathieson, Esq., J. L. Maxwell, Esq., M.D., B. Broomhall, Esq., Dr. B. W. Richardson, General Sir David Russell, Rev. H. Solly, J. H. Hilton, Esq., F. W. Chesson, Esq., James Budgett, Esq., W. L. Williams, Esq., J. H. Atkinson, Esq., J. E. Howard, Esq., F.R.S., W. Lockhart, Esq., M.D., T. A. Denny, Esq., Rev. Arthur Hall, Rev. T. Sadler, D.D., Rev. Dr. J. Hawkins Hill, F. W. Harmer, Esq., of Norwich, the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, Rev. W. H. Collins, from Peking, Rev. H. Soltau, of China Inland Mission, etc. The Lady Mayoress, Miss Tait, and many other ladies were present. The "Times" reporter estimated that there were nearly 1,000 persons in the Hall.

A large number of letters from influential persons, expressing regret at not being able to attend, were received. The Bishop of Durham's secretary wrote :—"His Lordship takes great interest in the movement, and it is with much regret that he finds that he cannot arrange to be present." The Bishop of Salisbury wrote :—"I feel the utmost repugnance to the traffic, and cannot but regard the action of the English nation in upholding it as an offence against public morality and the comity of nations." The Bishops of London, Ripon, Liverpool, and Bishop Claughton, would have been present if possible, also the Deans of Westminster and Llandaff, and Canon Liddon. The Earl of Aberdeen wrote :—"I am glad to hear about the approaching meeting at the Mansion House, which I sincerely hope will exercise an important influence." Letters of regret were received from the Duke of Westminster, Lord Kinnaid, the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, Dr. James Martineau, Mr. S. D. Waddy, Q.C., Sir J. H. Kennaway, M.P., Mr. W. H. Leatham, M.P., Dr. Osborn, the President of the Wesleyan Conference, Dr. Allon, President of the Congregational Union, Mr. Joseph Cowen, M.P., Mr. Ernest Noel, M.P., Mr. Herbert Gladstone, M.P., Sir W. T. Charley, Q.C., Mr. J. W. Pease, M.P., Mr. Arthur Pease, M.P., Mr. J. G. Barclay, Rev. E. Abbott, D.D., Sir E. J. Reed, M.P., Mr. G. W. E. Russell, M.P., Rev. W. Arthur, Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., Dr. Cameron, M.P., Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., Rev. R. W. Dale, Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, Mr. H. Richard, M.P., Mr. Thomas Lea, M.P., Sir Thomas Chambers, M.P., Mr. B. Whitworth, M.P., Mr. A. McArthur, M.P., Mr. Henry Lec, M.P., Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., the Rev. Canon Fleming, Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., Mr. H. H. Fowler, M.P., Mr. Stephen Bourne, Mr. Hugh Mason, M.P., Mr. Theodore Fry, M.P., Mr. Lewis Fry, M.P., Mr. A. Illingworth, M.P., Mr. W. Fowler, M.P., the Rev. Dr. Littledale, Dr. Halliday Macartney, and many others.

The proceedings were opened with prayer offered by the Rev. R. J. Simpson.

The CHAIRMAN then said,—Your Grace, my lords, ladies, and gentlemen, when I first had the honour of being elected Lord Mayor of this city, I made an announcement that during my term of office I should know no party politics. Well, I do not regard this meeting as belonging to any party. I believe it is out of the range of party politics altogether, and we are met here on a question that affects the honour,



the character, and, I might add, the prosperity of the nation. I do not believe that there ever has been a blacker page in the history of our country than that which records our transactions with China; the war upon which we entered in endeavouring to carry out our opium traffic was a war unjustifiable; and I quite agree with what Mr. Gladstone said with regard to it, that a war more unjust in its origin, or one more calculated to cover this country with permanent disgrace, he had never heard of. We have often heard the axiom, and it is as true now as ever, that that which is morally wrong cannot be politically right. I have no hesitation at all in saying that in whatever respect you may view this question, whether politically, commercially, or morally, the policy which has been pursued cannot be defended. We have in the course of that transaction placed ourselves in unfriendly relations with China, which we must all regret. China has felt, and I think justly felt, that she has been badly treated, and the conduct we have pursued towards China is one that we dare not pursue to France, to Germany, or any other European power. As regards the commerce of this country with China, it has interfered very greatly with that commerce. Now we export, I think, something about from two hundred and fifty to three hundred millions annually from this country. The Australian colonies, with a population of not more than two millions, take about forty-five millions annually. China, with a population of four hundred millions, the third of the world's population, takes from us about eight millions of British manufactures. Well, it is most important that we should establish such relations with China as would remove all feelings of animosity, and would remove all feelings that we have treated them badly, and endeavour, as far as possible, to cultivate the most friendly relations with that power. I need not refer to the moral grounds. Those will be dealt with, I am sure, by those gentlemen who will address you. It is not my intention, nor do I think it desirable that I should occupy the time of this meeting, looking at the platform before you. But I can only say this, that I believe that we cannot defend our policy on moral grounds. We have done great injustice to China. I am glad to find that with regard to the future we may look forward to great improvement in the finances of India, and if our Government will manfully grapple with the question, if they will endeavour to do that which is right, I am sure they will find no difficulty in dealing with it. The opium traffic, or the revenue which it brings, rests on a very unstable foundation, and if we did not contribute as we do to the cultivation of opium in India, we could replace it with crops—say sugar crops—that would pay far better, and that would benefit the country. We have expended a large amount of money in putting down slavery, and it has been the pride of England that we have done so. We rejoice that we have put down slavery as far as we could throughout the world, but while we have put down slavery with the one hand, with the other hand we have given to China, or at least we have contributed as far as we could, to promote a slavery in China destructive both of the body and the soul. And let us not forget, my friends, that if nations permit great national sins, they will be punished for them. There is a time of retribution for nations when they go wrong, as well as for individuals, and we have been taught a very, very serious lesson, with regard to our pos-



sessions in the East. We cannot forget the famines of India. We cannot forget what we suffered in the Indian Mutiny. We cannot forget the destructive wars we have had, and we should endeavour, as far as we possibly can, as far as the influence of England is concerned, to carry out the principles of liberty and of religion, and of morality, as a nation, in all the countries in which we have influence and power. We must not forget that there is a great Being by whom kings reign and princes decree justice; and if we, as a nation, go contrary to those principles, we are sure to suffer for it in the end. I do trust that this meeting, which I rejoice to see is so large and influential, will produce an influence that will be felt, not only throughout the country, but upon the Government. I feel that we have a right to call upon the Government to interfere in a matter of this sort as to which China itself has pronounced its dissatisfaction and its displeasure. I need not now refer more to the subject, but I have great pleasure in asking his Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom we rejoice to see here to-day, to move the first resolution.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.—My Lord Mayor, the beginning of the resolution placed in my hands is to this effect: "That in the opinion of this meeting the opium trade as now carried on between India and China is opposed alike to Christian and international morality and to the commercial interests of this country." Then follow two other clauses bearing on the mode in which this traffic is to be got rid of. With your leave, my Lord Mayor, I will confine myself to the part of the resolution which I have read to you. With regard to the commercial questions involved or the financial difficulties which must arise in India, I have no knowledge, and my opinion would be of very little value, but I have come, after very serious consideration, to this conclusion, that the time has arrived when we ought most distinctly to state our opinion that the present course pursued by us in this matter is one that ought to be abandoned, at whatever cost. It is of no use going back to the past except as a warning for the future. The history of the opium war may even now excite some echoes of party feeling which it is better to bury in oblivion. It is a remarkable thing in the history of public opinion on great moral questions, that it takes a long time before the conscience of a nation is distinctly awakened to any evil that exists, and in which it takes part. It is not so very long since one of my predecessors in the see of London, Bishop Porteus, got into very great difficulties because he preached a sermon before the Propagation of the Gospel Society, in which he advocated what then appeared to be an astounding notion, not that the Propagation of the Gospel Society should get rid of its slaves, but that it should run the risk of teaching them a little about Christianity. It was at that time so little according to the conscience of the English nation to take up the cause of slavery, and abolish it in the way in which, thank God, we have seen it abolished, that a man was not allowed, even in the high Christian position occupied by the then Bishop of London, to express his opinion even that slaves ought to be educated as Christians. Now, a time comes in the history of nations when the conscience which has hitherto slumbered awakes, and it is so, I think, with regard to this opium question, that now we have come to that point in which the general feeling of the country is con-

vinced that there is something wrong, and we are determined by God's help to draw the attention of our rulers so powerfully to the wrong which has been done, that we may safely leave it to them to find the mode of extricating us from the wrong. There can be no doubt that it is a grievous wrong. I have seen a defence quite recently of this opium traffic, in which it has been stated that the number of persons who smoke opium in the Chinese empire is an insignificant percentage—only a small portion of one per cent. of the population—and that therefore we are exciting ourselves about what in that empire is but a small evil. But I think when you look carefully to the figures on which this calculation is based, you will see that this small percentage of the inhabitants of China who are said to be injuring their lives, their bodies certainly, and their minds also by this deleterious practice which we have encouraged, amounts to two millions of human beings. That may be a very small number in China, but two millions of human beings constitute pretty nearly the whole population of the diocese of London, and certainly are one-half of that enormous population which is gathered together within the metropolitan district of this great city—so that what we have to deal with, even according to the confession of those who are most opposed to our efforts, is to endeavour to rescue from the thralldom of this destructive habit a body of two millions of human souls. Now, my Lord Mayor, speaking here as a minister of religion, I can have no hesitation in saying that every missionary with whom I have met from China, while they speak with good hope of the prospects of Christianity in that land, always tell us that this opium trade as it has been carried on in connection with England has a most deleterious effect in raising opposition to the efforts of the missionaries; that it is a common thing that when the missionary has concluded his address the people say, “Who introduced opium into China?” and the belief, at all events, of the whole body of the Chinese, is that they owe to us, if not the actual first introduction, at least the great spread of this vice, which is so dangerous to the whole community. I have read and I have no doubt your Lordship has also read with great interest, a letter from the Secretary of State of the Chinese empire addressed to the Secretary in London, and the quiet, temperate manner in which he argues the question and appeals to the conscience of the English nation respecting it, is, I think, greatly worthy of our admiration, and, I trust, will produce a strong impression upon the English people. My Lord Mayor, you have rightly said that we have done much in the way of advancing civilisation. You have alluded to the efforts which we have made respecting the slave trade. I am old enough to remember when we were told continually that the keeping up of that squadron on the slave coast was a mere waste of money, and that we should never be able to put an end to the slave trade by keeping up our squadron, and that all good financial considerations would lead us at once to drop the hopeless task of resisting the exportation of slaves from the western coast of Africa. But, thank God, we have lived to a time when the slave trade has altogether ceased to exist on that coast. Had we listened to the solicitations of those who would have taught us to spare our money at the cost of our consciences, where would we now have been? How could we have boasted that we had advanced civilisation by the great check which we have.



placed upon the slave trade? The Canadian Government at the present moment, greatly to its honour, keeps up a most extensive system of police for the purpose of preventing the importation of spirituous liquors amongst the Indians. Where will be the consistency of our spending our money, and thus showing an example of our readiness to protect the Indians, if, when such an appeal as has been made to us by the Chinese Government is addressed to the English people, we hesitate to apply to them the same principles which we apply to our Indian neighbours on the other side of the Atlantic? I observed the other day that one of the articles of the treaty with China contained this clause, "That the Chinese were no longer to call us barbarians," a most important clause. But what is more important than our not being called barbarians is that we should not act in any respect as barbarians, and forget that it is the duty of the civilised people to introduce amongst those whom we regard as less civilised than ourselves not the vices but the virtues of civilisation, and so to help them in the cause of good government which we trust by God's blessing the Chinese empire may gradually attain to.

The Right Honourable the EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.—My Lord Mayor, it has often been my good fortune to attend meetings where your lordship has presided, and even in this great civil palace of hospitality; but I am sure, my Lord Mayor, that you have never, on any occasion, presided over a discussion that involved more serious interests to this country—to its honour, its character, and its stability, and to the honour of religion—than the present. The Most Rev. the Archbishop read only the first paragraph out of three contained in the resolution. I have been asked by the Secretary to read the two following:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is the duty of this country not only to put an end to the opium trade, as now conducted, but to withdraw all encouragement to the growth of the poppy in India, except for strictly medicinal purposes, and to support the Chinese Government in its efforts to suppress the traffic.

"That, in the opinion of this meeting it will be the duty of this country to give such aid to the Government of India as may be found reasonable, in order to lessen the inconvenience resulting to its finances by the adoption of the policy advocated by the present resolution."

Now, my Lord, perhaps I may be allowed to say a few words, and a very few words, on this question. It gives me very singular pleasure to see such a large gathering at this time in the centre of this great commercial metropolis. I had the honour of moving the question forty years ago in the House of Commons. At that time I had scarcely any one to support me. I was looked upon in some measure as a fanatic—certainly as a fool—for propounding a question that appeared to be so vital to the interests of India, and as to which I could devise no remedy. Nevertheless, the traffic has gone on increasing from bad to worse, and from worse to still worse than that; and, at the present moment at which I have the honour of addressing you, the evil is far greater than it was before. Not only has the evil been extended, but it has now become a matter affecting the welfare and the stability of the British Empire. We rest so entirely upon the opium revenue, that any failure of the opium crop—anything that might break down the in-



tegrity of our traffic—would leave us in a miserable deficiency ; and how should we be able to carry on the government of our Indian Empire ? But nevertheless we have gained somewhat, and this meeting to-day proves what we have gained. We have gained very considerably in public opinion. We have gained this—that the consciences of many are touched—that many avow it and many more secretly feel it. We have gained this—that all admit—for they cannot contradict you—the physical mischiefs to our own fellow-subjects and to the inhabitants of the kingdom of China. All admit the political mischiefs, involving us in wars and exposing us day by day to all sorts of evil complications. You will find that Chambers of Commerce will tell you that all admit that financially it is a most important question. The finances of India are altogether insecure so long as they rest upon such a basis as this, and I think that there is scarcely a single man who believes one word of revelation who will not agree with all of us in saying that in its religious aspect it is altogether and unequivocally abominable. Now, this question has been wonderfully well set forth of late. I am not myself a great admirer of Church Congresses, but I must say that at the last Church Congress the question was set out in its whole length and breath. It was supported by able, conscientious, and experienced men ; and, if any wish to know the true state of the question in all its bearings, let them refer to that discussion as exhibited in the papers. They will see every possible aspect of it, and they will see the political aspect of it most admirably represented in a statement made by one of the best of men, Sir Bartle Frere. I do not think that now there is to be found anywhere a single defender who absolutely maintains the opium cultivation and the opium traffic as it now stands. Not one. Even those who are prepared to go the farthest in maintaining it are obliged to admit that it has many defects, and one of the stoutest of all admits that it certainly has a very considerable tinge of immorality. But the main arguments now for its maintenance are the magnitude of the interest and the great difficulty of the remedy. We admit all that. We admit the whole of it, and go as far as anybody can go in that assertion. But that is no argument for doing nothing. It is only an argument for doing what we intend to do, in detail and with the greatest leisure and deliberation. I am sure that in matters of this kind we shall do well to take the thing step by step. It is very well in stating our case, and it is very well in enlightening the public mind, that we should go into the whole length and breadth of the question—that we should state all its enormities ; that we should state all its evils ; that we should state all the consequences that we foresee—evils ten times greater than any which already exist. But, when we come to action, I think, we should be reduced to that which is practicable, feasible, and immediately before us. And I think that the first thing that we should demand is that the Government should be dis-severed from the cultivation and the sale of opium. And the argument for this proposition is so clear, the object is so forcible, and the matter of it, I really believe, is so easy, that I think that no one can long resist it. I can conceive nothing more ignominious than the position of a great Imperial Government manufacturing the opium, selling the opium, and entering into all the details of retail dealers. The severance of the Government from the production and sale of the opium will, at any rate, have this effect, this abomination could no longer be

called a national abomination. The nation would not be represented by this Government as being concerned in a nefarious traffic such as this. The Government would stand aloof, and leave it in the hands of ordinary dealers and of ordinary manufacturers. They might tax it to any extent they pleased for the purpose of procuring revenue. They themselves would be quit and free altogether from the manufacturing of the opium, from the sale of the opium, and from the endeavour to corrupt the taste and ruin the morality of thousands and tens of thousands of people, merely that they might procure to themselves a large and comfortable revenue. Now I know what questions will be raised. "Is the Chinese Government sincere in the resistance that it offers?" I firmly believe that it is. I think that the whole conduct of the central Government from the very beginning down to the present time has shown that it is really sincere, and upon moral grounds in respect to the physical and moral welfare of its people. That many of its subordinates have submitted to bribes, and that there is much corruption in the general Government no one can doubt, but I firmly believe that the central Government is strictly true and honourable in its intention. I remember that the late Chinese Ambassador did me the honour to call upon me. He sat with me a very long time, and he entered into the whole subject. He assured me most solemnly that the Government was really and truly sincere upon it. He said that the Government foresaw all the difficulties and dangers to the people, and they were determined so far as they were able to repress the consumption of opium. But he added this, "You must know we are called an absolute Government, and so we are. Our Government has absolute power over the lives and the liberties and the properties of all its subjects, and yet with all its power it cannot prevent the introduction and it cannot prevent the consumption of opium." But then it has been asked, "Are the people sincere?" I firmly believe the people to be sincere, just as our people are sincere. We are great consumers of gin and brandy, and other kinds of ardent spirits. There is a large proportion of our people who consume them; and I do not think that it would be possible for the English Government by any means in their power to repress the consumption of ardent spirits in this country. But if you were to take a plebiscite of all our people, and poll every man and every woman, I believe that the enormous and overwhelming majority of this country would be in favour of some measure or other—they could not define it—but some measure or other for the repression of the consumption of ardent spirits. But people come forward and say, "Oh, after all, it is but a small part of the people of China that are affected by this." I enter fully, and so do all of you, into the argument of the most reverend prelate, that if it did concern but one million, is it no matter of conscience to us as Christian people—is it no matter of conscience to us as human beings, that we are directly instrumental in the ruin, the corruption and the misery of a million of people? But I firmly believe that it goes far beyond that. In the first place, consider that the example may be very contagious, and may be spread very widely over the surface of China. But when you come to talk of figures in that manner, it reminds me of what I once heard Mr. Canning say in a debate in the House of Commons. There was a gentleman there who had been



wearying the House by giving a great many things as facts, and giving us an enormous number of figures. Mr. Canning got up and commenced his reply by saying, "Mr. Speaker, in my long experience, I have found that there is nothing so fallacious as figures except facts." That may be applied in this present case. I do not think that figures ought to be allowed to interpose. The fact is that we know that it is a mighty evil, physically, morally, financially, and religiously, and it is for us to repress it by every means in our power. But, after all, this is really a religious question, one particularly affecting this kingdom of England. It is remarkable that we are doing more than any nation for the advancement of the Gospel over the habitable globe; and remarkable it is that we are doing more than all the other nations put together for the purpose of preventing and repressing the effects of that Gospel. Here we are by our system affecting the 300,000,000 of China. See our commercial system in the South Seas, and the character and conduct of our traders. We are utterly annihilating all hope of promoting Christianity there by the conduct of our people in regard to what they call their commercial interests. The people of China, and, I believe, all heathen people, hold the conduct of England and of other nations to be one and the same thing as Christianity. Whatever England does they think is done by Christianity. Whatever England omits to do they think is omitted by Christianity. We are in this way retarding the progress of Christianity to a frightful and almost unspeakable extent. Why, is it not vain for the missionary to preach to them the gospel of peace, of happiness, of purity, and of joy, when they find that all that the good man has delivered to them is contradicted by the actions either of our traders, or our Government. It is a deeply religious question. It is one that affects the consciences of the nation. It is one, too, that affects our national stability and happiness. We must look to it, because not only may we be, by our present course, jeopardising the subordinate considerations of revenue, of public honour, and of public peace, but at no great distance of time we may bring into jeopardy the very existence of the British Empire.

REV. E. E. JENKINS in supporting the resolution said,—My Lord Mayor, those of us who have considered this question for years past—the subject of the connexion of the Government with the traffic in opium between India and China—have always felt a sort of despair when we have exhausted the declamation of sentiment and have approached the difficulties which beset the treatment of the evil which we all of us deplore. But if anything can relieve the long-standing depression, it is such a meeting as this, where the platform of unity and representation is so wide that nothing that is patriotic and humane and Christian seems to be excluded from it. What is it that brings together men so widely sundered in judgment and in word? We have heard what it is. It has been referred to in the speeches to which we have listened. It is the jealousy for the honour of the country whose children we are and whose fame all over the earth is the inheritance of Englishmen, and when that has been assailed, when that has been threatened, there has been no additional motive wanted to bring the sons and daughters of England together. The fact is, my Lord Mayor, there is a common house danger, if I may so speak, and we jump over the boundaries of our little plots of separation



and throug to the rescue. But I am satisfied from what I have heard that there is another and even a loftier feeling in the cause which has induced so many of us to accept your Lordship's invitation. We are Christians, and this resolution invites us to declare that the opium trade as now carried on is opposed to Christianity. And I am happy to believe, my Lord Mayor, that wide as is the basis upon which we meet to-day, it is within the limits of Christian faith, and I think I ought to add Christian discipleship. And now as patriots and as Christians, let us see whether we can approve the opium trade as now carried on between India and China. I am not going into the history of the unhappy period between 1833 and 1842 during which India and China discussed their respective differences on this opium question with sword and bayonet and musket. There were faults on both sides ; but, my Lord, you said pretty clearly in your speech this afternoon that the larger share of the guilt belonged to the Christian as against the Pagan. In the beginning of the contest unquestionably the right was on their side, might was on our side ; but as a Christian nation we ought to have satisfied ourselves before using that might that we were on the side of right as well. If I had time, and I have not, I should hardly trust myself to dwell upon bygones that every Englishman desires to forget, but the trade as now carried on between us and China is alike immoral and impolitic. Opium is poison. Those who endeavour to liken the consumption of it to the use of alcoholic beverages in this country know not what they say or whereof they affirm. It is a medical poison, and outside the medical necessity it is a ruthless and an indiscriminating destroyer of body and of mind. I have been in China, I have seen something of the effects of opium in China ; and, my Lord Mayor, the traveller in China must shut his eyes and keep them shut to escape the most appalling contrasts between those districts where opium dens abound and those districts where there is but a small consumption of the drug or none at all. The people themselves have found this out. In one district in the province of Canton, a district containing 100,000 people, the gentry and literati of the district rose up and said that the opium dens should be shut, and they shut them. In another district containing about 40,000 people, these persons of influence, uniting together political opinion and authority, insisted that the opium traffic should cease there. That shows the mind of the people. We know this, my Lord Mayor, and the Government know it too. They must be aware of it. The Government must know that the importation of opium is regarded by the authorities of the weaker country as the curse of its populations. The Government must know that originally the traffic was forced upon the Chinese at the point of the bayonet, and that the reluctant and irritating treaties by which its sales were afterwards legalised are not transactions of which a generous and Christian statesmanship can be proud. That they also know. Well, if this be so, the position of the English Government as the manufacturers of opium, and as commanding the monopoly of the traffic, is a false position. But more than this, the Government does not defend its position. In my opinion it would be too glad to wash its hands of the odium that cleaves to the trade. The speech of the Marquis of Hartington last year on the motion introduced by Mr. Pease contains a passage which puts the relation of the

Government to the traffic so clearly that, as it comes from a Minister of State for India, I will venture, with your Lordship's permission, to quote it. "I am quite ready to admit," said Lord Hartington, "that the Government of India is, in the circumstances of the traffic, placed in a somewhat invidious and false position. It occupies the same position that would be occupied by the Government of our country if, instead of imposing on ardent spirits as heavy a duty as they will bear, it was itself to be the manufacturer." His Lordship then goes on to express a hope that the finance minister of India will be able to place the trade upon a sounder and more defensible footing. I presume, my Lord Mayor, that that means that his Lordship and his Government live in the hope that the trade will pass into the hand of private manufacturers and merchants. I am afraid that a wholesale trade in poison which carries bodily and mental degradation to another country can be made neither sound nor defensible in the commerce of Christian England. Our Government have inherited a position which they cannot defend. They have, in effect, admitted so much; but they perhaps would never have admitted it had it not been for the stern philanthropy of Mr. Pease and others, backed by a sentiment of jealousy for the honour of England, and by another sentiment which may not find a place in the speeches and in the blue-books of Parliament: but I rejoice to say that sentiment is growing and is becoming immense in the churches of this country whose representatives are striving to introduce into China a religion based upon equity between nation and nation, and inspired by love between man and man.

A GENTLEMAN in the body of the meeting (Mr. Martin Wood, late Editor of the *Times of India*,) said—Before the resolution is put I should like to say one word. The third part of that resolution, I believe, pledges the people of this country to give their aid to the Government of India and to support it in the loss from the removal of the opium revenue. I merely wish to say that you, in putting this resolution, ought, I think, to allow the meeting to understand that it is pledging itself to a very considerable financial responsibility—a responsibility which, of course, is amply covered by the remarks in the speech of the venerable prelate who has spoken, but a financial responsibility which cannot be lost sight of—a responsibility of six millions a year.

THE LORD MAYOR.—We are quite alive to the responsibility—quite alive. The Government will be supported by the country, we believe, in putting down that which nothing can justify.

The motion was then submitted, and carried unanimously.

CARDINAL MANNING.—My Lord Mayor, ladies, and gentlemen, before I read the resolution which has been committed to me, perhaps I shall not do amiss if I make a passing answer to that which has been very temperately and reasonably advanced by the gentleman on the left. If it is possible for me to differ in any matter of benevolence or public utility from my noble friend Lord Shaftesbury, it would be in believing that it is better, safer, and more expedient, that the Government of India should retain in its hands that pernicious monopoly which it now possesses, than that it should break it up and distribute it into the hands of multitudes of traders, who will hereafter not only stimulate that trade, but render the control of it as impossible in that country as what I may call the monopoly



of one hundred and fifty millions of money makes another trade uncontrollable in England. I believe that that old desire of Nero was a wise one for his purposes. He wished that the Roman people had but one neck. And, when I see the opium trade in the East summed up in one monopoly, I am very glad to know that there is a sword impending over that neck which I hope will soon descend upon it. I therefore may say—and I am anticipating what I should have said in order, in speaking to the second resolution—that I hope that the Government of India will maintain that monopoly in its own hands, in order to have the perfect and complete responsibility of it, and therefore to be urged onwards to exercise the utmost control over it, to diminish it, under the sense of that grave responsibility, every year we live. I believe that at this moment the cultivation of the poppy by the Government might be diminished. I believe that the sale of opium to retail dealers might be diminished. I am confident that the licensing of places for sale might be diminished; and if I may be allowed to perform the office of junior counsel to the most reverend prelate who moved the first resolution, and to the noble earl who seconded it, I will say that the Government in this country has already committed itself—its conscience; and when I say “the Government,” I do not mean the Government of Mr. Gladstone, but I mean every Government—the continuous governing power of this country and the continuous governing power of India—upward from the time of Warren Hastings; for I am told that even in the articles of his impeachment the subject of opium is to be found. I speak, then, of the Government as that continuous body which controls the public affairs of this empire. The Government holding this control in their hands, have already shown that of which, I think, Tennyson speaks, “a little spark of conscience made him sour.” They have shown in dealing with their own dominions that we are conscious of the necessity of doing that which we are endeavouring to render impossible to the Chinese Government. In British Burma there were sixty-eight places for the sale of opium, and forty-one of these have been lately closed by an act of the Government, leaving only twenty-seven. The Government, conscience-stricken, diminished the number of the places of public sale, and at the time that it does that at home, they are stimulating the introduction of opium into China. It has been going on now for a period of forty years. By means that are secret, I mean smuggling,—by means that are violent, I mean war,—by means which I hardly like to characterise, which I will call diplomacy,—we have been forcing upon the Chinese population the consumption of a poisonous drug, which is a destroyer, as we are told, possibly of two millions of people. Now, my Lord Mayor, I confess that I hope that the Government will retain undiminished its whole and perfect responsibility in this matter, and that the public opinion of this country will be roused. I do not believe that it has been roused on the subject of the opium traffic. It was not roused thirty years ago upon another traffic—upon which I will not speak, for you did not invite me for that purpose, and I am confident that if I spoke on it now, I should be supposed to be harping on a mad string, and therefore I will say nothing about it. But the conscience of this country was not roused to the enormous evil which was here at our own thresholds, in every street and in every city, in every town and in every village over the whole



country. The public opinion of this country was not awakened then, and it was not awakened till lately on this which is so vital to ourselves, and all that are dear to us round about. Is it not perfectly certain that the great mass of the English people at this moment are by no means roused—that they are in a state of apathy—not apathy of the heart, but one arising from a want of knowledge of the facts of the case? I think, then, my Lord Mayor, you have done a good work to-day, which, I hope, will be followed by your successor in this chair. And now the office which has been committed to me is to move the resolution which stands second, “That in the opinion of this meeting the results of the sale of opium in British Burma are a disgrace to our Government of India, and demand the most thorough and immediate remedy.” I do not know how those who coolly discuss the subject of opium upon the ground of the finances of India, conceive of the great empire which the providence of God has raised up and committed to our hands. If they look upon it simply as a great mart for commerce, or a great field for the exercise of arms, or if it be a mere bubble for the vain-glory of an insular people, then I can quite understand that they may be apathetic when the facts of the opium traffic are brought before us. But if men believe that the empire upon which a whole series of the history of the world will be found to rest, that the empire of Britain is only one in the long series in which the will of God has manifested itself in letters which I may call articulate, and which we can hear as well as read—if two hundred and fifty millions of people have been committed to us in India, and one hundred and fifty sovereign heads, races, and dynasties subjected to our sole sovereignty—if all this is a mere matter of commerce without responsibility, then, indeed, I can understand men hearing all that we can say about opium perfectly unmoved. But if we believe that with this imperial greatness comes an imperial responsibility, and that no man can discharge himself from his share of it—that every Englishman, Irishman, and Scotchman, is part and parcel of the great British empire, and that as we partake of its weal and its woe, we partake also of its evil and its good, and that we must be responsible for the share we have in it—then I confess that I do not think it possible that any man can discuss it as it was discussed the other day, I am sorry to say, from first to last, upon the sole and only ground of finances. And I acknowledge that I am disappointed that a more resolute and masterly language was not held by a high authority in our legislature, when he said that the revenue of India rested indeed upon an unsubstantial basis so long as it rested in so great a measure upon the opium traffic. I would far rather have heard—and out of his lips it would have been perfectly consistent to say—that although this opium traffic is defensible and legitimate when opium is used as a healing and curative power in the art of medicine, yet when the opium is used, as it is used wheresoever its use prevails in China and in British India, it is used for the utter destruction of man in mind and body, and that this deplorable and poisonous drug ought, outside of its legitimate and medicinal use, to be entirely abolished. Well, that which I have to lay before the meeting is this: What the Government of India has been doing in Burma; what Burma was before we entered it; and what we have made it since we entered it. Burma is that long sea-coast on the north

and east of the Bay of Bengal, a land fertile with vast rivers and deltas of exceeding fruitfulness, with a population which is described as having been sober, industrious, and orderly before we entered it, with a religion which positively prohibited the use of opium, and with laws conformed to religion, as once they were in other places—laws which inflict the penalty of death upon the use of opium. Into such a country and into such a population we entered. And what was the consequence? The opium trade. Now, my Lord, I will not weary the meeting by reading evidence, for I am confident that those who hear me are, more or less, masters of the facts, and I will not cite the evidence of missionaries, though I possess letters written by a body of men whose testimony would command immediate credence—a body of men who, for the last 200 years, have been scattering their missionaries all over the East, and especially in China, in Japan, in Corea, and in Tibet, and of whom between thirty and forty have laid down their lives for the truth as it is in Jesus. I will not quote their testimony. I will take only the testimony of our own officials, and those testimonies are contained in authentic documents which have been laid on the table of the House of Commons, and therefore it will be impossible to say, as it was said the other day, that all this excitement is the morality of Exeter Hall. Here is a document which, I have no doubt, is in the possession of many—the report of Mr. Aitchison, than whom no one knows the condition of Burma better; and he sums up the evidence of some eight or ten other commissioners, or several commissioners, who one and all testify that the introduction of opium into Burma has been ruinous, and destructive of the population wheresoever it has reached. If you will allow me, my Lord, I will read one extract. I am afraid of weakening it if I do not read it in the words of Mr. Aitchison himself. He says here:—

“The papers now submitted for consideration present a painful picture of the demoralisation, misery, and ruin produced among the Burmese by opium smoking. Responsible officers in all divisions and districts of the province and natives everywhere bear testimony to it. To facilitate examination of the evidence on this point, I have thrown some extracts from the reports into an Appendix to this memorandum. These show that, among the Burmans, the habitual use of the drug saps the physical and mental energies, destroys the nerves, emaciates the body, predisposes to disease, induces indolent and filthy habits of life, destroys self-respect, is one of the most fertile sources of misery, destitution, and crime, fills the jails with men of relaxed frame predisposed to dysentery and cholera, prevents the due extension of cultivation and the development of the land revenue, checks the natural growth of the population, and enfeebles the constitution of succeeding generations.”

No higher testimony, no more certain, no more authentic, no more incontrovertible than this, can be produced. I feel, therefore, that I need not weary you by referring to the Appendix which it quotes, but in that Appendix commissioner after commissioner repeats, reiterates, re-echoes the same words, only more strongly expressed; and I believe that there is no truth more absolutely established than this, that the introduction of opium into British Burma, for which we are distinctly and exclusively responsible, has already begun to bring about the entire wreck of that population, both in body and soul. I may also refer



you to another part of that evidence, which I will do only in my own words. The commissioners say that there is a universal consensus among the natives, all imploring the British Government to extinguish the traffic, saying, that until the British came in this evil did not exist among them, or that it was in a degree so inappreciable that it was not regarded, but that now their sons and their daughters, especially the rising youth of the population, are taking to the opium-smoking. There was a meeting in the month of April last in Rangoon, of a hundred of the elders of the Burmese people, who addressed the Society which has assembled this meeting to-day under the presidency of the Lord Mayor. Those persons implored the English people to desist from destroying their population. And now, my Lord, there is one very sad thought, that is, that we have deliberately violated the great imperial responsibility for which, as I believe, the immense sway which we hold in the East is committed to us. Are we to believe that it was given to Great Britain only for the material prosperity of the Oriental nations? My Lord, you told me just now that I should commit no breach of privilege if I quoted what has passed "in another place," for I will not describe it more particularly. A gentleman there said that the revenue raised from opium was of the greatest importance because it had covered the face of India with a network of railroads. Were we raised up as a Christian empire to cover the face of India with a net of railroads, and to poison and ruin a people who had an antique theism of their own, and a code of morals which inflicted death for the use of opium? Is our destiny in the world to give a material civilisation, and nothing else? If that is so, I can understand the argument which, I am sorry to say, pervaded the whole of the debate which was raised by the member for South Durham the other day. In this matter I may refer to a most noble argument used some forty years ago by Lord Macaulay. When the rage for political economy—of which I always wish to speak with respect, for it is a very high and imposing science—desired to introduce into this country a seventh day of labour, after the manner of continental nations, and pleaded that it was impossible for our hands to compete with foreign manufacturers, who worked seven days in the week while we worked only six, he said, "Take care what you do. That seventh day is not a loss of time. The Wattses and the Arkwrights by their skill constructed wondrous machines for the multiplication of industry. But on that seventh day, when no hammer rings on the anvil, and when no smoke ascends from the chimney, and there is no motion of the shuttle, there is a machine that is repairing its decays—there is a machine that is becoming more vigorous, more controlling, and to which none of the machines of Watt and Arkwright are to be compared—the human frame, and the cunning of the human brain, and the skill of the human hand." Well, my Lord, if this be so, what is to be said of the opium trade in Burma? What are we doing with the brain and the hand of the Burmese people? We are committing high treason against man himself. It is not only a violation of our imperial responsibilities; we are violating and destroying the nature of men. And for what purpose? That we may have six millions and a half to bolster up the finances of India. God forbid! It seems to me manifest that if we deliberately, with our eyes open, persist in this course we are preparing for ourselves a castigation which may come even from human



hands. We despise the southern Chinese as an unwarlike people. What are the northern, and what are the western provinces of China? What are those armies that went forth the other day into the centre of Asia and met the Russian force? There is a power in China which one day may raise itself up, before which our great imperial army may find that it has a heavy task to do. But more than this; there is a great empire that is hovering upon the frontiers of China, on the Amoor river, on the north and on the west, and on our north-west of India; and who knows that the scourge may not be there preparing for us if we alienate the Oriental races—if we make them distrust us—if we teach them to regard us as the destroyers of all that is dear to them—if they see that we are trading for money—that we are not controlled, I will not say by our Christianity, but by moral laws? The member for South Durham the other day, instead of saying, “Christian and international morality,” might have used the formula of our old jurists, “The law of nature and of nations;” for it is a crime against the law of nations to poison a neighbouring people. If we go on so, the day may not be far distant when there will come the chastisement; and we shall deserve it. The other day, a statesman worthy of the name—one of the leaders of our great political parties—in answer to some one who said, “By what right do we hold India?” replied, “By the divine right of good government.” That divine right of good government, as long as we persevere in justice will avail. If we violate it, we tear up our imperial titles. Mighty as our will may be—and mighty indeed it is, for the British Empire is now in the zenith of its power—yet over the tumultuous waves of human wills there is one Sovereign Will that reigns. If we violate it, its judgment may come slowly, but its judgment will come surely at the last.

MR. GEORGE PALMER, M.P. (of Reading), seconded the resolution. He said—My Lord Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, I feel it an honour to have been asked to second this resolution, and I do so with very great pleasure. I have not had the presumption to come here with any intention of making a speech, or preparing myself for doing so, knowing very well those speakers who have preceded me; but I am glad just to call attention to a fact which has a very strong bearing on this question. In a paper read before the Statistieal Society the other day I read these remarks with regard to India—and I am not one of those who are greatly troubled about the question of the finances of India, knowing that a nation that has spent in times past many millions with a war in China, can find a means to fill up the vacancy or the deficiency in connection with this opium traffic. But this is the remark I refer to. The writer of the paper says, “Thus, with small means and with small beginnings we may constitute a new empire and civilisation in India, as we have constituted an empire of conquest with small resources, and almost by individual effort.” We have not got to the end of our resources in India. And I would make use of a paper which a friend has just put into my hands, showing the very small trade which is carried on between those immense populations in India and in China. It says, “Here, then, is an immense market for India close at hand, and the entire legitimate commeree between them, export and import, during the year 1875, was less than one penny per head for the two hundred millions of India, and less than one penny per head for the

four hundred millions of China." And when we see two such immense populations as are found in India and in China, I cannot but believe that if, instead of pursuing a system of war and enforcing this drug upon China, we were to follow another course, and endeavour to develop the resources of the two countries, we should have no difficulty whatever as to finance. I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. DONALD MATHESON.—The resolution which has been put into my hand to move is as follows : " That a deputation from this meeting be appointed to lay before the Prime Minister the foregoing resolutions, and to press upon him the duty of adopting the policy therein approved ; and that the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Chairman of the Meeting, and the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, President of the Society, be requested to take the necessary steps to give effect to this resolution." I have special pleasure in moving this resolution, from the fact that having been many years in China myself, and having studied this question for a long time, I do feel that now the question is simply reduced to one of revenue, and it takes this form, " Will our Government dare to do right ? " I venture to offer in a few words, for there is no time for more, a solution of this difficulty, which is both simple and efficacious. Our Government say to China, " We are now prepared to help you in averting this opium plague, if you on your part are prepared to carry out prohibitions as to the opium cultivation in your country." Give five years on both sides for the operation. That matter settled, the next point is, how is the Indian Government to deal with this question ? Now what we want is, in the first place, that the Indian Government should revert to the policy with which they originally carried on this opium traffic, namely, to raise the largest possible amount of revenue from the smallest possible quantity of opium. For many years this was a principle which was adopted. Let them revert to this principle and use the monopoly as the instrument for effecting this object. At present the export of opium from India, in round numbers, is one hundred thousand chests—fifty thousand from Bengal under the monopoly, and fifty thousand from the Bombay side from the native states, under duty. Now, let them put on the screw. Next year, instead of fifty thousand let there be thirty thousand, the second year twenty thousand, the third year ten thousand, the fourth year *nil*—nothing ; the monopoly has gone. But at the same time let them raise the duty upon the export in Bombay, step by step annually, as the other process is going on, and at the end of five years you will find that our monopoly has gone, but the Government still retains a revenue, but on a sound principle—the sound principle being the largest possible revenue from the smallest quantity of opium. At the same time raise the duty on the Bombay side, each year a step till it is double the present rate ; and then what do we find ? The monopoly production at an end, but a revenue of some millions remaining, based on the principle of discouraging production. Farther legislation may at this point be necessary, which should adhere to the policy of repression. Meanwhile in China the supplies have been drying up, and prices have been running up to such a height that the power of the masses generally in purchasing is being done away with, and the only people who can use it are the wealthy few, and thus China is saved from the opium plague.



If, on the other hand, China should happen to prove false, our conscience is clear, and we have still in our power the opium from the Bombay side, on which we can raise a revenue on the principle of the largest possible revenue from the smallest possible production. China has a magnificent future in prospect—with its agricultural and mineral wealth boundless—a race which is industrious, energetic, spreading over the whole East, filling all the different countries of the Eastern Archipelago. Shall we mar this splendid heritage for our commerce by drugging to death the nation we expect to be our best customers? I cannot doubt that so excellent a financier as our Prime Minister will be able to devise a way out of the financial difficulty, and therefore I have much pleasure in moving this resolution.

The BISHOP OF BEDFORD.—My Lord, I am glad to second the resolution. I cannot help feeling that in a Christian land like this the moral argument must take precedence of the financial; and it seems to me that we shall be right in proceeding to press the matter upon the Government, which our resolution pledges us to do; for as lovers of our country, and lovers of our dear Lord, we are to stand by that which we believe right and true and noble, and that which we believe to be for the truest welfare of those vast multitudes into contact with whom God's providence has brought us, and for the main interests of whom we are to a great measure responsible to that God who has brought us into that contact. I therefore, my Lord, have great pleasure in seconding this resolution.

Mr. HOLBORN.—My Lord Mayor, it appears from all this evidence, and from the speeches—(Cries of "Name?")

Mr. HOLBORN.—"Holborn, Mincing Lane."

The LORD MAYOR.—Is your object to support this resolution?

Mr. HOLBORN.—Certainly, with the permission of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, with a rider.

The LORD MAYOR.—I cannot accept that as a rider unless it is in correspondence.

Mr. HOLBORN.—Quite in correspondence with it, my Lord Mayor, because it is merely to express the opinion of this meeting that the expenditure of India should be reduced to the extent of the opium traffic.

The LORD MAYOR.—That is a question which, I think, is foreign to the object of the meeting entirely. We want to approach the Government and ask the Government to take the most effectual means they can to put down this traffic; and I do not think that we are called upon to enter into any question of finances with regard to the country. I therefore cannot accept the rider which you now propose to put. I will put the resolution.

The motion was accordingly put, and was carried unanimously.

Mr. ALBRIGHT, of Birmingham.—My Lord Mayor, and ladies and gentlemen, may I turn first to you, my Lord Mayor, and say, that for months past I have had a grateful feeling in my heart, for the kind and prompt way in which you met the suggestion which, I believe, first came from myself, that a meeting in this hall under your auspices would greatly serve the interests of the Anti-Opium Society. With that feeling there mingled also an anxiety that the meeting should be one representing all classes and all creeds; I think that we may congratulate



ourselves on the success with which that object has been attained. I should like, in addition to all the condemning facts that exist as to this opium traffic, to make record that in 1831 a special committee of the House of Commons delivered its judgment that the demoralising effects of the opium traffic were "incontestable and inseparable from its existence." I doubt whether a nation ever recorded a similar judgment against itself in more simple and comprehensive language. I am quite satisfied, however, that, unless we put forth all the *powers* which we possess, this evil, denounced by the House of Commons in 1831, will go on, and the immorality which they then denounced be perpetrated for another fourteen years. I have been instructed to mention, that a proposal has been made to raise a sum of £25,000—£5,000 per annum—to be devoted to arousing the conscience of this nation. I am happy to believe that in the churches of the country, led off as they have been to-day by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Manning, we have a vast moral power, which only wants to be evoked to be almost overwhelming in its effect upon any Government. But on a question touching the finances of the country, and the taxation which descends amongst the people, it is needful that the people themselves be aroused, and become parties to any change in the taxation of the country. And this demands large and various efforts, and no small expenditure. If I may revert for a moment to the resolution which has just been passed, I think that, from the fact that the present Prime Minister has said that the war in China entailed a permanent disgrace upon this country, we may appeal to him to wipe off this also, which has been going on ever since, adding to the original disgrace. I would like, also on this occasion, to recall the fact that a free-thinking President of America once said, "If God is just, I tremble for my country." Well, we all know that the people of the United States including its churches and divines disregarded that warning voice, which was true prophecy ; and what was the penalty that they paid ? The penalty of a thousand millions of treasure, and perhaps, nearly a thousand millions of human lives. The judgment was summed up in the thrilling language of President Lincoln, when he said, "What if every drop of blood wrung by the lash shall have to be repaid by one drawn by the sword, and if all the treasure arising from the toil of the slaves be wasted away in the processes of their emancipation ? Who shall say God is but just ?" Now, the moral that I would wish to draw from that lesson is, that if this country does not arouse itself as to this great iniquity, we have much indeed to fear from the castigation which Cardinal Manning so powerfully placed before us. I believe that one reason why I have been put up to speak upon this Guarantee Fund is, that it received its first practical start in Birmingham ; and we have not only started it, but we have made so much progress that I am able to say that Birmingham will do its quota in the shape of £3,000. But that £3,000 I consider will be comparatively wasted if it is not backed by about four times that amount from the City of London ; and as our population stands at 400,000, and you profess in this metropolitan district to be nearly four millions, I put it to you whether my demand from the City of London for four times what Birmingham produces is not a very fair one. I have felt very strongly upon this subject, and knowing the great difficulty that there always is in getting funds

except by personal application, I have offered my friend Samuel Gurney, one of your citizens, that I would come and spend a week with him in calling upon some of your opulent merchants and residents. Citizens of vast wealth should do something to redeem the nation from an iniquity like this, and therefore I have proposed a rider of this sort to the last resolution. I simply read it, not proposing to have it added to the resolution. "That the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Mr. Samuel Gurney, Mr. Donald Matheson, Mr. Coote, be appointed a deputation from this meeting, empowered to take steps to obtain contributions from the citizens and inhabitants of London to the Guarantee Fund which is being raised to carry on the agitation against the Opium Trade." I simply read that as what I would have wished if the Committee at that late hour had seen their way to adopt it; but I have no doubt at all that we shall find the means of appealing, and I hope appealing effectually, to the generosity of the City of London in a great cause of this sort. I have great pleasure now in moving "That respectful and most hearty thanks be given to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor for inviting and presiding over this meeting." I only add, that we have got a beginning of about £7,000 to this £25,000, and I fully hope that London will do its share.

GENERAL TREMENHEERE.—It falls to me as Chairman of the Committee of the Society to second this proposal, in which I am sure that the whole meeting will join intensely. I will not detain the meeting with any remarks on the subject. It falls to me therefore to put it to the meeting.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

THE LORD MAYOR.—I am much obliged to you, my friends, for this vote of thanks. I have felt it to be a duty to give every facility I could for the object of this meeting; and it was with great pleasure indeed that I placed this hall at the disposal of the committee appointed for this purpose. I am more than ever convinced that I have been right in doing it, and I trust that this very large and important meeting will tell powerfully upon the nation at large with regard to this opium traffic. I am sure that I hope that there will be a good report of the proceedings of the meeting, and that the speeches will all be reported; and I am sure that if these speeches are reported, and the public at large look upon the question in the light that has been presented here, and give it the importance which it demands, in the course of a little time we shall see in relation to the opium traffic what we have seen with regard to slavery—that it will be put down.

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## APPENDIX.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

SIR,—Permit me to supplement the two lines of your report of what I said at the Anti-Opium Meeting. My object was to point out that the resolution then being put to the meeting, and which is to be taken up by an imposing deputation to the Premier, distinctly pledged the meeting, and through it the British public, to give such "financial aid"



as may be needed by India if its opium revenue shall be sacrificed to the philanthropic demands of England. The Lord Mayor at once, on behalf of the meeting, ratified this engagement; but it is exceedingly doubtful whether a tithe of those present realise what is involved in this formidable pledge. The net revenue derived by the Indian Government from the drug in 1879-80 was £8,251,650; and by the "regular" estimate for the year ending March last, the amount was £8,468,000, or, say, eight millions sterling per annum. No man can better estimate the significance of such big figures than can the present Lord Mayor, and there cannot be a shadow of doubt as to the sincerity in this matter of the hon. member for Lambeth. Nevertheless, the Indian Government and its Parliamentary master, the Secretary of State, will need some guarantee much more tangible than the hasty vote of a mixed public meeting before they dare take any step that will jeopardise the continuance of what is now such an essential portion of the Indian revenue. Notwithstanding the Lord Mayor's acceptance of the enormous financial responsibility involved in offering to "pay the bill of costs," subsequent speakers, as others have done at former meetings of the kind, proceeded to minify the significance of the pledge, and to speak vaguely about the great resources of India being equal to what may be required. Efforts to shirk responsibility for the cost of this moral crusade will be vain, and can only postpone any settlement of the question, the pecuniary aspect of which the people of England have not so much as begun to perceive. We cannot be generous with "other people's money;" and it would ill accord with the "righteousness that exalteth a nation" to gratify our philanthropic desires at the expense of the impoverished ryot of India. It is idle to speak of substitutes for the opium revenue. The position is just the same as if the Government of India possessed a silver mine yielding eight millions annually. Should the mine be stopped by moral or any other compulsion the deficient millions will have to be made up. By every principle of justice and right the British Government, which, as alleged, created the opium revenue by forcing the drug on the Chinese, and the English people, who are now to be "agitated" up to the pitch of stopping the traffic, must find the means to fill up the gap. No doubt this could be done. Men who take such high ground as that maintained by the speakers at last Friday's meeting must be equal to inspiring a national sacrifice that will be five times greater than was incurred in the compensated extinction of West Indian slavery. On the other hand, the meeting at the Mansion House, however influential, can do little towards inducing the rank and file of the electoral body to accept a new responsibility of eight millions per annum. Probably not five of the gentlemen on the platform last Friday ever permit themselves to reflect that England has not yet paid one shilling towards the maintenance of her Indian Empire. All the paying from this side has yet to begin.—Yours, &c.,

W. MARTIN WOOD.

West Kensington, October 24.

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## SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD'S FIRST LETTER TO "THE TIMES."

DECEMBER 26, 1881.

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IN view of the indiscriminating agitation which is being manufactured all over the country against the Indian opium revenue (amounting to from £7,000,000 to £9,000,000 sterling a year) on the ground of its imputed immorality, I wish to place on record the opinions which I have been led, by years of intimate study and observation in Bombay, to form of the effects of the habitual use of opium on the people of the East. I do not propose to enter into the economical question of the Indian opium revenue, or into the political question of our alleged forcing the importation of the drug on the Chinese. I shall confine myself as much as possible to my personal experience of the general effects of smoking, eating and drinking opium, on the Chinese, Mussulmans, and Hindoos of Western India.

As regards opium-smoking, I can from experience testify that it is, of itself, absolutely harmless. I should like those who have been led to believe, on the unscientific observations of others, that it is harmful, to simply try it experimentally for themselves, under proper precautions, of course, against the risk of using imperfectly prepared *chandoo*, or "smokeable extract" of opium. I feel satisfied that the more thoroughly they test it, the more strongly will they be convinced with me that the smoking of opium is, of itself, a perfectly innocuous indulgence. I have known cases of desperate suffering, resulting apparently from excess in opium-smoking, such as unscientific observers hold up *in terrorem* before the British public. But these cases were always of moral imbeciles, who were addicted to other forms of depravity, and the opium pipe was merely the last straw laid on their inherently enervated and overstrained backs.

Opium has been smoked for generations in China, even within the precincts of the Imperial Palace at Peking. As far back as 1796 edicts were issued against the practice, but in vain, so deeply were the people already devoted to it at that date. The determined, obstinate instinct of the Chinese people in its favour paralysed even the despotic endeavours of the Chinese Government to suppress it; and long before we became entangled in the quarrel between the Chinese and their Government on the subject, the Financial Board at Peking had advised the recognition of the national habit by the imposition of a tax on opium, on the ground that the increased rigour of the laws enforced against its use since the beginning of the century had only tended to increase the bribes offered to officials for their connivance in it. The Chinese Government rejected this judicial proposal with a great flourish

of moral indignation, and the crusade against opium-smoking was carried on with renewed severity. All the same, the popular custom proved irresistible, and its victory in the end was of incalculable benefit to the Chinese, as it served gradually, wherever opium-smoking prevailed, to completely entice them away from the use of their native ardent spirits. This historical fact should never be overlooked by those who have been led by their blind philanthropy to believe that opium-smoking is necessarily injurious to the Chinese, and that, therefore, the Indian opium revenue is immoral. No one will deny that, at all events in tropical countries, the effects of excess in ardent spirits are worse than those of opium, and it would be unfortunate indeed if, as a consequence of the abolition of the Government manufacture of opium in India, the Chinese were led back to the use of the ardent spirits of their own baneful distillation. It would be the undoing of probably the greatest temperance triumph of any age or country ; for I repeat that, of itself, opium-smoking is almost as harmless an indulgence as twiddling the thumbs and other silly-looking methods for concentrating the jaded mind in momentary *nirvana*. The mind often seeks a lull—quiescence without vacuity—and finds it in any of these strangely infectious ways, opium-smoking among the rest.

But, it may be asked, what of the opinion of the Chinese Government as to the morality of opium-smoking ? It is, I believe, partly due, as with other worthy people, to their not distinguishing between the accidental concomitants of a debauched life and the antecedent inducements to it ; but chiefly to the fact of official Chinese ideas of morality being founded on an artificial religious system, and not on the national habits of the masses of Chinamen. The scholastic official ideas of morality in China are utterly at variance, as is obvious in regard to opium-smoking at least, with the universal practice of the people.

Be that as it may, all I insist on is the downright innocency, in itself, of opium-smoking ; and that, therefore, so far as we are concerned in its morality, whether judged by a standard based on a deduction from preconceived religious ideas or an induction from national practices, we are as free to introduce opium into China and to raise a revenue from it in India, as to export our cotton, wool, and iron manufactures to France.

The habitual eating and drinking of opium are altogether different things from smoking it as a gentle incentive to restorative repose of mind. Opium taken internally is a powerful and dangerous narcotic stimulant ; but even so it is no worse in the effects produced by excessive use than alcohol. It is and has been immemorially used throughout vast regions of the East. It satisfies a natural human craving for some paregoric stuff or other, “banishing sorrow, wrath allaying, and causing oblivion of all cares,” while its consumption has been further fostered by the religious ban imposed in Asiatic countries on the use of alcohol. Alcohol acts with doubly destructive force in tropical climates, and with awful rapidity, and its victims are a constant danger to others ; whereas the sufferers from the abuse of opium are seldom dangerous to others, and are a nuisance only from lingering so long in a state of harmless dulness on the hands of their relations. Nothing, moreover, is so offensive to respectable Asiatics as the violent



excitement caused by wine and ardent spirits, and opium enables these dignified persons, who dare not break the ecclesiastical law against alcoholic drinks, nor outrage the social feeling against noisy intoxication, to safely satiate their natural craving for something at once stimulating and soothing. The ill effects of the habitual use of opium in excess are developed almost exclusively among those, who by some weakness or injury of brain, or by chronic disease, or by the unhappy circumstances of their lives, are predisposed to over-indulgence. The habit of destructive excess among them is, in fact, usually to be traced to chronic diarrhœa, chronic cough, chronic fever, and to the long religious fasts, alike of the Buddhists, Hindoos, and Mussulmans, in which opium is used to allay the pangs of protracted hunger. Besides these unfortunates, the weak-brained dissipated rich, and the hopelessly poverty-stricken are the only sufferers. Sound, hale people, in comfortable worldly circumstances, who lead healthy lives, seldom or never suffer from the habitual use of opium, even in quantities that seem to be excessive. There are few finer people in the world than those of Goojerat, Kattywar, Cutch, and Central India, and they are all addicted to the habitual use of opium. In Rajpootana, high and low, rich and poor indulge in it, in the most alarming excess, measured by the quantity they take, but, as regards the mass of the population, with impunity. These Rajpoots are splendid men, well formed, handsome, and of the most chivalrous and romantic temperament. Their custom is to drink the opium in the form of an emulsion called *kusoomba*. It is prepared and served round in a bowl, like an enormous pap-bowl, from which it is poured into the joined palms of every visitor to drink of it, and the Rajpoots are always taking these paregoric draughts from morning to night. But they are robust and active, constantly in the open air, and, as a rule, suffer no more from their immoderate potations of *kusoomba* than healthy country-folk in England from sound ale, or Tartars from *koumis*, certainly not so much as "Glasgow bodies" from whisky, or Londoners from gin. The women in Rajpootana prepare the *kusoomba*, and it will be remembered that in the Odyssey it is Helen who prepares the famous "nepenthic drug":—

Meanwhile, with genial joy to warm the soul,  
Bright Helen mixed a mirth-inspiring bowl.

In 1809 Rajpootana was thrown into disorder by the contest of the princes for the hand of Krishna Kumari, the beautiful daughter of the Rana of Oodeypore. To stay the fratricidal strife the heroic maiden mixed a bowl of *kusoomba*, and exclaiming, "These are the nuptials foredoomed for me," drank it off at a draught, and sank down where she stood, and died, so restoring peace to the distracted land. I have a strong suspicion that the free use of opium in Rajpootana acts as a preventive of malarious fevers.

It is evident, in short, that *there are two sides to the question of the morality of the use of even opium itself*, and all the facts regarding its real effects should be fully placed in evidence before the public, when the relations of the Government of India with its manufacture and exportation are being made the butt of ignorant and prejudiced opposition. Even the eating and drinking of opium appeared to me so little harmful, and the instances of any consequent evil so rare, that all the

time I was in India I was an advocate of all stimulants in moderation; and it was only when I returned to England, and saw on all sides of me, and every day, the evil effects of the abuse of alcohol, that I was gradually led to sympathise with those who urge voluntary abstinence from every form of stimulant.

There is the fact, however, of the universal craving of man for some kind of stimulant, and of their being everywhere, from Kamtschatka to South Africa, and from Canada to Polynesia, provided for his use. We are always being called upon to appreciate the divine bounty in the wide distribution of cereal and pulse grains, to strengthen man's heart; and are we to take no heed of narcotic stimulants, which are to be found in almost every natural order of plants, and in every climate of the globe, to make glad the heart of man? Then also, may not some significance be attached to the narrative of the marriage in Cana, at which water was turned into wine—not wine into water? I know it has been urged by some commentators that this particular miracle is without a moral end. I suppose they thought its end immoral. But it was worked in the presence of the disciples of John the Baptist, and every one who has lived in the East will recognise that the moral of the miracle is the rebuke it administers to that sanctimonious affectation of an impracticable asceticism, which is, perhaps, the most offensive trait of the Asiatic character. The miracle was palpably meant to impress the followers of the Baptist—one of the three only a Nazarite for life, the other two being Samson and Samuel, mentioned in Scripture—that not objectless mortification of self, any more than licentiousness, but rational enjoyment was the right rule of life. Man could not possibly avoid the discovery of wine, and the thought of the famous sentence of St. Augustine, “Ipse fecit vinum in nuptiis, qui omni anno facit in vitibus,” is as just and true as it is poetical.

If, however, it is impossible to object altogether to stimulants, we can no more object altogether to opium. Its use is merely a question of geography and race, and not of morality in the least. *A fortiori* there is nothing to be said on moral grounds against opium-smoking. If any one will test its effects, he will find that half its soothing and pleasure is derived chiefly from the opportunity it affords for abandoning oneself for a few moments to idleness, with the pretence of occupation,—in preparing the dainty apparatus used by well-to-do connoisseurs in the operation,—the elegant lamp, the exquisitely damascened, or brilliantly enamelled, pipe, and quaintly chased silver pins,—and cleaning and putting them all back again into the drawer of the low japanned table, which is the respectable opium-smoker's fire altar and altar of incense in one, from which the smoke goeth up continually. Those who are fond of rolling up their own cigarettes—probably *not* always composed of tobacco—will understand this. Then, for the rest, there is the supreme satisfaction felt by man of every colour, creed, and race, in passing any mild smoke, especially if it be in any sort fragrant, in and out of the mucous passages of his head, a pleasure quite independent of the positive physiological action that the smoke stuff itself may possess; while for any narcotic property there may be in the smoke of thoroughly combusted *chandoo*—that is, in the ashes of smokeable extract of opium—the subtlest chemical analysis would probably fail to find it out. Blowing soap



bubbles itself can indeed scarcely be a more ethereal enjoyment than sucking *chandoo* smoke into the throat, and blowing it out again through the nose, and sometimes, by finished performers, through the inner corner of the eyes.

I am not approving the use of stimulants—I have long ceased to do so. I am only protesting that there is no more harm in smoking opium than in smoking tobacco, in the form of the mildest cigarettes, and that its narcotic effect can be but infinitesimal, if, indeed, anything measurable; and I feel bound to publicly express these convictions (which can easily be put to the test of experiment) at a moment when all the stupendous machinery available in this country of crotchets-mongers, and ignorant, if well meaning, agitators, is being set in motion against the Indian opium revenue on the express ground of its falsely imputed immorality.

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# THE OPIUM TRADE.

FROM THE "JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY OF ARTS" OF JANUARY 20,  
1882.

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## INDIAN SECTION.

FRIDAY, January 13th, 1882 ; Lord ABERDARE, F.R.S., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, referred to Sir Rutherford Alcock's competence to deal with the subject of the Opium Trade, he having lived for twenty years in China, where he had been compelled to study it in all its bearings, and to advise his Government upon it. He was aware that there was a very painful impression upon the minds of some persons as to the morality of this trade, and that many believed that this country was not only importing on a large scale a pernicious drug into the most populous country of the world, but also compelling its introduction and use by force of arms. On the other hand, there was the fact that a very large revenue raised from one of the poorest populations in the world depended on this article, and that no disturbance of the financial condition of India, to the extent which the suppression of the opium trade would bring about could be contemplated without very grave anxiety. They knew it was next to impossible for the acutest financier to discover any new source of taxation for India. At the same time he believed he was speaking the opinion, not only of the meeting, but of all England, that whatever might be the political difficulties connected with the finance of India, if it could be shown that the use of opium was to the great population of China the curse which it was reported to be, and that they were forcing its use on an unwilling people, no political necessity, however great, should ultimately alter the national policy on this subject. They could not allow their Government to be charged with corrupting a whole people for the sake of fostering one branch of commerce. He was sure that whatever might be the feelings of the meeting, Sir Rutherford Alcock would meet with a patient hearing.

The paper read was—

## THE OPIUM TRADE.

By SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, K.C.B.

Great efforts are being made at the present time, under the auspices of a Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear upon her Majesty's Government, and compel them to take decisive action for that object.



Two meetings have already taken place, one at the Mansion House in October, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal Manning were the chief speakers and supporters of the resolutions ; and another subsequently at Sheffield, with the Archbishop of York in the chair. An influential deputation to the Prime Minister, and an organised agitation to back it, are further calculated to excite considerable interest, and to rouse public attention to a subject of national importance.

I wish to speak with all respect of the high dignitaries, civil and clerical, who have given their names in aid of this movement. They are great authorities in their own spheres, and, as no one doubts their good faith or good intentions, there is a natural reluctance to question the wisdom of their acts. Nevertheless, in such a discussion as they have actively promoted, concerning the opium trade, its history, conditions, and influences, it is scarcely a disparagement to say that they cannot be supposed to have any great knowledge of the subject. It is one which cannot be mastered by a few hours' study, and when they give circulation, in their speeches, to exaggerations of the most mischievous and misleading character, it must be assumed that they speak from the briefs furnished them by others. But they cannot on that account be entirely acquitted of responsibility for the truth of the statements to which they lend their names.

And I may say here, that although most of the staple arguments and misleading opinions on opium and its disastrous effects come from the missionaries in China, whose good faith I do not question,—there is no stronger protest against exaggerated and sensational statements on record, than has been supplied by one of their number, the late Dr. Medhurst, of whom it has been truly said he was “one of the most able, experienced, and zealous missionaries in China.” Opposed in principle to the opium trade in all its aspects, his statements will be readily accepted as unimpeachable evidence. The following remark occurs in an official paper forwarded to the Chief Superintendent of Trade at Hong Kong in 1855.\* Alluding to a speech of an American missionary, who had visited England, and was reported to have told the British public “that the smokers of the contraband article have increased from eight to fifteen millions, yielding an annual death harvest of more than a million,” and further characterising the traffic as “staining the British name in China with the deepest disgrace,” Dr. Medhurst observes : “Such statements do great harm ; they produce a fictitious and groundless excitement in the mind of the religious and philanthropic public at home, while they steel, against all reasonable and moderate representations, the minds of the political and mercantile body abroad. The estimate given has not even the semblance of truth ; it is an outrageous exaggeration.”†

\* See Papers relating to the Opium Trade in China, 1842-1856, presented to the House of Lords.

† Dr. Medhurst comments strongly, in the same paper, on the American missionary's exaggeration in attributing all the sin and disgrace exclusively to the British, observing “that missionaries know, or ought to have known, that American citizens are fully as much implicated in this affair in China as the subjects of Great Britain. There are individual exceptions among the merchants of both nations, but on the whole both English and American houses in China trade in the drug, each to the full extent of their means.” To the same effect is the following, in a despatch to Lord Clarendon,

And yet, in two memorials presented to Lord Clarendon by distinguished and justly respected noblemen, the Earls of Shaftesbury and Chichester, on the evils of the opium trade in 1855, these, and still more "outrageous exaggerations," appear with the authority of their names. Lord Shaftesbury officialises the estimate that 20,000,000 of Chinese are opium-smokers, and assumes that of this number one-tenth (that is 2,000,000), die yearly, and states it is an "appalling fact." Appalling indeed! But what if it be a mere figment of the imagination, and absolutely devoid, as Dr. Medhurst says, of a semblance of truth? Mr. Hart's returns of all the opium imported into China even at this day, when the quantity has nearly doubled since 1855, show that the total annual amount of opium at present received from India does not exceed 100,000 piculs; and by a simple arithmetical calculation of the weight of prepared opium that quantity yields with an average consumption of *three mace* (one mace is equal to 58 grains), not more than a million of smokers can be furnished with their daily supply. How many or how few "victims" of this number die annually, and in consequence of their opium-smoking, Dr. Medhurst says, in dealing with the American missionary's statement of a million—and which Lord Shaftesbury, improving upon it, suggests may be two millions—that with all his "life long experience and knowledge" he would not even hazard a conjecture as to the "annual death harvest." Mr. Lockhart again, known throughout China as a zealous and able medical man, attached to Dr. Medhurst's mission, and the surgeon of the Missionary Hospital in Shanghai for many years, states in the same official paper: "It is impossible to say what is the number of such victims, either among the

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from the Chief Superintendent of Trade in China, in reply to Lord Shaftesbury's memorial (see Parliamentary Papers). "Lord Shaftesbury has been erroneously informed as to the trade in opium being confined to British subjects or protected only by the British flag. It is a matter of general notoriety that many of the principal American houses deal largely in opium, and that the flag of the United States is unfurled at the opium stations, over American ships, with American registers." To the same effect is an instance in the same despatch, from Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, and Co.:—"Vessels of almost every nation trading in China being engaged in the traffic; while, with but very few exceptions, the whole of the mercantile firms in the country (China) are interested in the trade." See also evidence of the participation of other countries as sources of supply. "Between 1814 and 1818 there was a progressive competition of foreign opium in the Eastern market, the rivals of the company being the traders in Malwa opium, and from independent native tribes in Central India and in Turkey opium. The Turkey opium was principally conveyed to China direct from the Mediterranean by Americans, and by British subjects from Madeira; and although a very inferior and much adulterated drug, it proved a formidable rival." The opium from Malwa in 1830-31 considerably exceeded in quantity the whole amount imported from British India, being 12,631 chests, as against 7,477. This is only a matter of secondary importance, except as a question of accuracy, but on that head it is conclusive; because, if our action cannot be justified on other grounds, it does not much better the case of the British to show their fellowship with others, although it takes from them the Pharisee's pleas when he thanked God he was not like "publicans and sinners, and fasted twice a week." For they neither fasted nor were total abstainers! But to make the plea of participation, such as it is, in the unpardonable offence of opium trading, there is abundant evidence that the much-wronged Chinese, at the very period of 1831 onward, while so busily employed in denouncing the foreign trader in this vile dirt, poisoning and destroying the people, were largely growing the same poison in their own province of Yun-nan, and driving a profitable trade with Burmah, conveyed by Chinese caravans annually to Ava, the capital, and there distributed, to the supposed destruction of the unhappy Burmese, their tributaries.



higher or lower classes." Which is strictly true, for there are no statistics to guide us. But even to reach the lower estimate of the American missionary of more than a million, evolved apparently from his inner consciousness, like the German student's description of a camel which he had never seen,—we can see that it would involve the death of every individual of the whole number *now* supplied with Indian opium, who smoke much or little—a preposterous and incredible conclusion.

I think, after this short account of the kind of statements which pass current among religious classes and philanthropists in England, and have been circulated this thirty years past, under the high sanction and authority of such names as Lord Shaftesbury, and now,—with little modification in the figures, and none in the vehemence of the denunciations, with the authority of the Lord Mayor, the two Archbishops of the Church of England, and the Cardinal who represents here the Church of Rome, you will agree that it is time some one with knowledge of the facts should have the courage to enter his protest against the acceptance of statements of this character, and the inferences which would, if justifiable, affix an indelible stain on the nation. For many years it was my right and privilege, no less than my duty, to uphold and defend, not only the interests of this country, but the character and honour of the nation; and the habits of a life cannot be as easily discarded as a worn-out glove. I still feel the impulse strong upon me not to stand by in silence, while such attacks as I have described are being daily made, to the disparagement alike of the Government and the nation.

It certainly requires some determination to face the opposition that I may expect, and the certainty that among those whose opinions or convictions I must contravene, I shall be classed with the advocates of a protected opium trade, and opposed to all efforts for its limitation—or final abolition, if such a consummation were possible. This is, however, very far from the truth. I do not agree with the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, either as to the practicability of the end, or the admissibility of the means proposed for effecting it; for reasons which I will presently state. But I have always desired to see the Indian Government freed from all direct participation in the culture, manufacture, and sale of the drug. And in 1869, when negotiating the revision of our treaty, I did my best to induce both my own and the Chinese Government to come to an arrangement, the object of which was to gradually restrict the cultivation in both countries—to limit the consumption by diminishing the quantity of the produce and increasing the cost;—and ultimately, so far as might be possible or desirable, to wean the Chinese from its use. But I purposed to proceed gradually—to avoid all sudden or violent displacements of capital and industry, or deficiencies in revenue, which are always, in my opinion, to be deprecated—and nowhere so emphatically as in India, and countries situated as China and India respectively are at this time. I did not succeed, for reasons into which I cannot enter here; but it was not from any want of effort on my part, or of earnestness in my desire to attain the end in view; and I did succeed in obtaining the assent of the Chinese Government, in principle, to the course I proposed.

I may be pardoned this much of personal explanation, because it is

of the highest importance that, in the statements I have to offer, you should not be under any misconception either as to the object I have in view, or the feeling with which I approach the whole subject. I may add that, as I have never smoked an opium pipe, rarely indeed taken an opium pill as medicine, I cannot speak of the effects on the human system, except from observation of others, and such experience as is to be obtained by that process. But having passed more than twenty years of my life in the midst of a Chinese population—in large cities where opium-smoking is most prevalent, from Canton to Peking—a large field of observation has been open to me. And as I have never had any interest in the opium trade, apart from its moral, political, and commercial aspects, I may fairly claim to be heard on such a subject, as one who has had the best means of arriving at an impartial conclusion.

The Archbishop of York, at Sheffield, told the meeting that “the Christian nation of England has been in the past continually engaged in enforcing an unwilling nation to purchase great quantities of poison which it has grown for them, and have not scrupled to go to war even to enforce what I must call an unjust trade.” And the Queen herself, as the Empress of India, is made responsible for the actual growing and selling of an enormous quantity of a drug for “poisoning the people, for destroying them physically and morally, and for corrupting a whole nation that is ready to protest against the corruption.” Is this true—or any part of it true? That is the question which I wish to bring before you for judgment. And I may assume that what we all desire, is to arrive at the truth.

It is to be presumed his Grace of York could not mean that England has been continually engaged in forcing the Chinese people, either to purchase or to smoke opium which they neither required nor desired—although the language would bear this construction—because such a contention would be too absurd. This would be a feat that no nation has ever yet achieved. We must assume, therefore, that all the speaker could really mean, was that British ships and subjects brought into China waters an article for sale which Imperial edicts prohibited; and that the Chinese people chose of their own free will, notwithstanding such prohibition, and with or without the connivance of their own authorities, to purchase the opium so brought, and for a century continued to buy it in increasing quantities. When this is called an “enforced trade,” it is clear it cannot apply to the people who were the purchasers, and if not, neither can it with any justice or consistency be applied to the sellers. It can only have even a remote reference to the Chinese Government, who, in some part of the period, issued edicts prohibiting the sale or purchase of the drug. But the binding nature of such edicts, and their value in such a question, must depend greatly on the will and the power to enforce obedience on their own subjects, at least, if not on foreigners trading in their ports. To promulgate laws which no one is expected to obey, which are habitually disregarded by the very authorities on which their execution depends, is not the act of a Government which foreigners can be held very strictly to obey. It is very doubtful policy for any governing power to make laws or to issue edicts they want either the will or the power to carry into execution. Open disregard and contempt of such laws are the necessary



consequences, as we sometimes see nearer home ; and such was the nature of all the Imperial edicts issued on the subject of the opium trade—from their first appearance, towards the end of last century, to the present day.

If a similar state of things existed in any European country, does any one doubt that the same results would follow, and a smuggler's vocation again become a flourishing and profitable one, as it was once in Great Britain, with little discredit attaching to it in the popular mind—and as it does now among the “contrabandistas” on the frontiers of Spain, from precisely similar causes ? France is a wine-producing country, and her wine and brandy find a large and profitable market in England. A taste and a demand for such produce exists here ; but what would be the result, if a reforming Chancellor of the Exchequer suddenly, in some spasm of national morality, or fiscal theory on some balance of trade or export of the precious metals in reference to the currency, were to raise the duties to a prohibitive rate, or declare all such products contraband—poisoning the people, demoralising and impoverishing the nation, and filling our prisons with criminals (all of which might be said with as much truth as of opium), with anathemas on the foreigner, in well rounded periods ? There can be but one answer. A race of smugglers would speedily arise—native and foreign, and even with the most effective preventive service—contraband trade would be maintained in the teeth of the Government. And “all the Queen's ships, and all the Queen's men” would not avail to keep out the prohibited articles ; whether they were wine and spirituous liquors for the men, or even lace, and gloves, or silks for the women. Should we ask France, or Spain, or Portugal, to come to our aid to stop this irregular trade by their subjects, carried on, *vi et armis*, by ruse—or by force, if the former did not suffice ? We know very well what the answer would be. “Provide your own preventive service, we do not interfere, nor protect our smugglers.” No doubt there would be violence and bloodshed, and abundance of ill-feeling between the parties engaged, and possibly the Governments concerned. But in what would such a state of things differ from that which prevailed on the Chinese waters for a century, and until the Chinese Government, grown wiser by experience of their own inability to provide any other remedy, legalised the importation of opium, at a reasonable duty, on the settlement of the tariff which took place after the second war, and *after* the signature of the Treaty of Tientsin ? It has been alleged that this was the result of compulsion under the Treaty of Tientsin, but it is entirely untrue. Neither in that Treaty, nor in the later Convention, signed at Pekin, after all power of further resistance had been lost, as shown by the fall of their capital, did Lord Elgin introduce any clause for the protection of the opium trade. The alteration made at Shanghai by the joint Commissioners, in placing it on the tariff at a fixed duty, was the spontaneous act of the Chinese for their own advantage, not for ours. And the power was still left them to levy any duties inland they pleased, and they have not failed to profit by it.

We shall be told that the difference consisted in this : that the British Government protected the trade in opium at the smuggling stations, if not ostensibly, yet certainly, by the fear of its superior power ; and in confirmation, made war in 1840, to punish the Chinese

Government for confiscating some 20,000 chests. And, secondly, that opium is a poison of so exceptional a nature, so seductive in its temptation, so firm in its grip, and deadly in its effects, that no Christian nation can be justified in producing or selling it, even if no force were employed.

The true answer to such allegations will best appear by the history of the trade, as shown in the table now before you, from the beginning to the present date ; and it will show how slow and gradual was the early development of the trade, from the time when the Portuguese first brought their 200 chests from their own possessions at Goa, previous to 1767—increasing in subsequent years to 1,000—and the first appearance of the East India Company on the scene, in 1773, as importers of opium in small and quite insignificant quantities. Eight years later they could not dispose of a cargo of 1,600 chests ; and it was not until 1790 that the annual import amounted to 4,054 chests, at which average it remained nearly stationary for the next thirty years, to 1820, never exceeding, in that lengthened period, 5,000 chests.

#### FOREIGN OPIUM TRADE.

##### *First Period (uncertain length).*

##### PORTUGUESE IMPORTATIONS.

	Chests.
Before 1767 .....	200
Increasing in subsequent years to .....	1,000

##### *Second Period (17 years.)*

##### BRITISH INDIAN TRADE.

Commenced in 1773 with small quantity of opium.

(In 1781 a cargo of 1,600 chests—found unsaleable and re-exported.).

##### *Third Period (30 years).*

In 1790 importation amounted to .....	4,054
And remained nearly stationary to 1820, never exceeding ...	5,000

##### *Fourth Period (10 years).*

Importation increased from 1820 to 1830 to .....	16,877
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##### *Fifth Period (10 years).*

From 1830 to 1840, the date of the first war after Lin's seizure of 20,291 chests, the importations amounted to	20,619
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##### *Sixth Period (40 years).*

From 1840 to 1880 in decennial periods.	Piculs.
From 1840 to 1850, increased to .....	52,925
1860, when it became a legalised trade .....	89,744
1870 .....	95,043
1880 .....	96,839

We have here to the end of the third period, about half a century, during which the stake of the East India Company was so small, and the revenue, if any, so insignificant,\* that it is morally certain, without

\* Under a million sterling in 1832.



any further demonstration, neither the Company nor the British Government would have risked a collision with the Chinese Government, or the stoppage of the tea trade, which was the chief interest of the company up to this date, as it was their chief care. What prevented the Chinese Government, during the whole period, adopting effective measures for stopping this opium trade? It was driven by their officials to a distance of fifty miles from Canton in the outer waters off the island of Lintin, where depôt ships were allowed to lie, for the most part without molestation? The fear of the power of Great Britain, we are told. We shall see shortly in what respect this power was held, and what was their estimate of its effective existence both by their official utterances and by their acts.

The trade in this latter period between the depôt at Lintin and Canton, was chiefly carried on by boats, paying regular fees or bribes to the Canton Custom-house and other authorities. Even as late as 1837-8, and during the eighteen months preceding Lin's raid on the British factory for the surrender of 20,000 chests, it has been confidently stated, that the trade was carried on chiefly in four boats, under the Viceroy's authority, which paid regulated fees to the Custom-house and military stations. What is to be said of imperial edicts thus treated with contempt by the Emperor's own executive officers? The first of these edicts prohibiting the trade, communicated to the Council of the East India Company, at Canton, in 1800, took much more effect on them than on the Chinese. Anxious chiefly for their profitable monopoly of the tea trade, they prohibited their own, the "country" ships, from that date, bringing opium to China; and, unlike the Emperor of China's edicts—their order was obeyed.

Whatever may have been the motive or true cause, about which there hangs considerable doubt, it is certain that neither in the edicts of 1800, nor as late as 1832-4, when several Imperial edicts were issued against the introduction of opium from abroad, no reference whatever is made to the moral ground of prohibition, so ostentatiously paraded in later issues, and notably in Li-hung-chang's letter to the Anglo Opium Society last July. The reasons exclusively put forward in the first of these edicts, in 1793, were, that—"It wasted the time and property of the people of the Innerland, leading them to exchange their silver and commodities for the 'vile dirt' of the foreigner." And as late as 1836, when memorials were presented to the Emperor, showing the connection of the opium trade with the exportation of sycee, they generally regarded the question in a political and financial character, rather than a moral light; and certainly, in several edicts issued between 1836 and 1839, when Lin made his grand coup, there is little, if any, reference to the evils of opium smoking, but very clear language as to the exportation of bullion. When we reflect that this "vile dirt," as I will presently show, was being extensively cultivated in the provinces of China, and largely consumed by his own subjects, we may be permitted to question whether the balance of trade turned by the large importation of opium, and the leakage of the sycee silver, so emphatically and angrily pointed to in after years, was not the leading motive for the prohibition of the foreign drug. We have it on authority, that, "From the commencement of commercial intercourse down to 1828-29, the balance of trade had always been in favour of

the Chinese, and great quantities of bullion accumulated in China. Since that date, the balance of trade had been in the opposite direction, and bullion began to flow out of China. As silver became more scarce, it naturally rose in value, and the copper currency of the realm (and this only one) already depreciated by means of over-issues, and the mixture of foreign coin, of an inferior standard, appeared to suffer depreciation when compared with its nominal equivalent in sycee; and the effects of this change fell heavily upon a large and important class of government officers, and ultimately upon the revenue itself. Memorials were presented to the Emperor on the subject, and the export of sycee was prohibited."

When it is said, as Dr. Wells Williams writes in his "Middle Kingdom"—notwithstanding the constant and open connivance of the local authorities at Canton for a century in an opium trade, in defiance of Imperial edicts—that "there is not the least evidence to show that the Court of Peking was not sincere in its desire to suppress the trade, from the first edict in 1800, till the war broke out in 1840"—one would like to know how such sincerity in an eastern autocrat, with arbitrary power like the Emperor of China, can be reconciled by Dr. Williams, or any other supporters of this view, with the notorious fact of the cultivation of the poppy largely in the provinces, as proved by memorials of Chinese censors in 1830-6? One of these, in 1830, represented to the Throne that the poppy was grown over "one-half of Chekiang;" while one Nai-Tsi, another censor, strongly urged the policy of legalising the trade in opium on that ground, among others; and a third, in 1836, Cho-Tsun, stated that "the annual produce of opium in his native province of Yun-nan could not be less than several thousand piculs."

Lin's thoroughly Asiatic and barbaric mode of dealing with foreigners, was the real cause of the first war with China, commonly designated the "Opium war." If the occasion for Chinese violence had been cotton, or any other article of trade, war would no less certainly have followed. The object of the war was incidentally, no doubt, to compel the Chinese to refund the value of the property seized by processes in violation of all the usages and principles of international law. But it had other and wider aims, and mainly that of putting an end to a state of things utterly intolerable, and of commercial relations solely governed by the caprice and arbitrary will of an irresponsible Asiatic Ruler and his Satraps, who acknowledged no reciprocal obligations, and no rights on the part of foreign powers or their subjects. And this it accomplished, to the great benefit, not of China and Great Britain only, but of the whole comity of civilised States.

Relations so strained, from indefensible acts on the part of an Asiatic autocrat, could not continue indefinitely, and must, sooner or later, have ended in one of two ways—by a total cessation of all trade and intercourse, or a treaty only to be obtained by war, and as the price of a victory over Chinese exclusivism, and pretensions to suzerainty over the rest of the world. War may be a hard master, but China would learn of no other. Twice in the course of the preceding fifty years England had sought, by a formal embassy to Peking, to effect this end



by peaceable means—by Lord Macartney's mission in 1793, and Lord Amherst's in 1816, and each time unavailingly. In both cases the British mission was ostentatiously paraded before the Chinese population, *en route* from the coast, as tribute bearers ; and in Lord Amherst's person the mission was treated with great indignity, because he refused to perform the kotow, and prostrate himself or do obeisance to the Emperor as Chinese Suzerain.

Again, when the East India Company's monopoly of the China trade was cancelled in 1834, another effort was made, by the appointment of Lord Napier as a Chief Commissioner, to enter into communication with the authorities at Canton, for the regulation of all matters connected with the British trade and interests upon a rational footing ; and indignities were heaped upon the King's representative, and all communication with the Viceroy indignantly refused, unless in the form of a petition sent through the Hong merchants ! Neither the measures taken at that time by Lord Napier under the instructions of his Government, nor those instructions, were very wisely or judiciously conceived, any more than were the steps taken by his successor, Captain Elliot. But still the same spirit of arrogance and violence which dictated the treatment Lord Napier received at the hands of the Viceroy, and later on, his successor—until it culminated in Commissioner Lin's sequestration of the foreign commodity—could not have failed to bring on a rupture and reprisals, as the only remedy for unbridled violence and misrule. The opium trade was only one of many causes—and not the chief of these—even though, as matters fell out, it stood in the forefront, of the motives for Chinese violence.

The state of our relations, and all our intercourse, social, political, and commercial, during the whole period of the East India Company's trade, under the committee at Canton, which terminated by the abolition of their monopoly in 1834, is very truly and tersely described by the latest of their representatives, Sir John Davis, afterwards the Chief Superintendent of Trade and Minister Plenipotentiary in China. After long experience, and with all the advantage of a knowledge of the Chinese language, a most rare accomplishment fifty years ago, he writes, referring to the grievances suffered by our trade as far back as 1747, and which continued with little alteration for the better, nearly a century later, "The principal points were the delay in unloading the ships, the plunder of goods on the river ; the *affiches* annually put up by the Government, accusing the foreigners of terrible crimes, and intended to expose them to the contempt of the populace ; the extortions, under false pretexts of the inferior officers, and the difficulty of access to the mandarins."

It is remarkable how persistently, for a hundred years, the Chinese continued the same vexatious course, and identical modes of harassing and insulting the foreign traders, even to the posting of offensive placards, the sole object of which was to hold all foreigners indiscriminately up to contempt, and excite the hatred of the people—to serve which purpose no slander was too gross to blacken and vilify them. Long after regular and official intercourse had been established by treaties, the same odious practices continued, leading to outrages and massacres of foreigners, as I shall have to show.

Up to this period of 1840, where is the evidence of force on the part

of the British or any other foreign power to sustain the opium trade? Or how is it possible to argue that the Emperor and his authorities at Canton—to which most distant part of his empire all foreigners were compelled to confine their trade and intercourse with his subjects—were not free agents, or, that they had any fear of a foreign power? The whole history of our relations with China, up to the outbreak of the war, is one continuous refutation of such an assumption. In their unbounded arrogance in dealing with all foreigners, they showed such absolute faith in their own power, and such depth of ignorance as to the relative strength of foreign states, that any idea of equality of rights of an international character, cannot possibly have found a place in their minds. All their language and acts bore this out too plainly to admit of dispute. Yet, lest there should seem any trace of exaggeration or inaccuracy in this statement, let me give you two or three proofs, in addition to those already cited.

The fundamental maxim of Chinese intercourse with foreigners, as Sir John Davis tells us, has been accurately translated by Premare, and is quite sufficient to explain their conduct:—"The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled on the same principles as citizens. Were any one to attempt controlling them by the great maxims of reason, it would tend to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings well understood this, and accordingly ruled barbarians by misrule. Therefore, to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and the best way of ruling them."

With such rules of international intercourse, we need not be surprised that Lord Napier called the Viceroy of the province a "presumptuous savage"; while he in turn designated the British representative as a "Barbarian Eye"—in other words a mere overseer or supercargo, whose business was to look after British ships and trade, and reverently obey the orders transmitted to him through the Hong merchants, not presuming to hold any direct communication with high officials.

There is of course much to be said to account for this habitual arrogance and pretension of superiority, if this were the time or place for a general history of our relations with China. It might be possible to show that both the Viceroy and Lord Napier were right from their own point of view, and both nearly equally ignorant of the real claims of each to more respectful treatment. But all I have to do here is to show, by a few facts, how profound and absolute was the ignorance of the Chinese officials of the outer world and the people they were dealing with in so summary a fashion. Abbé Huc, in his interesting book on China, gives many amusing examples of their grotesque ignorance. He says the Greeks fixed the abode of their monsters and ephemeral creatures in the East; and the Chinese have returned the compliment by placing theirs in the West, beyond the great seas. "There dwell their dog-men, and nations with ears long enough to trail on the ground as they walk. There is the kingdom of women, where they are regarded as superior and men inferior to them. From the King down to the people, all are subject to the authority of their wives." (Perhaps that may not be wholly untrue, and will not be so when the rights of women are fully established.) "In the West also are the people with a hole right through them at the breast, the mandarins of which people, when they go out, merely pass a stick through this hole, and have



themselves thus carried between two domestics, or chair-bearers." Of the English as a nation, they were accustomed to speak as an amphibious people, who lived on the water, and were very fierce, but quite incapable of fighting on shore. Nor was this ignorance confined to the uneducated, or the millions away from the coast and the seat of war, who had no opportunity of coming in contact with us. Mr. Meadows, the late consul at Newchwang, in his Notes on China, written at Canton after the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, in 1843, effectually disposes of this idea, by showing what the Cantonese, with whom there had been intercourse for more than two centuries, thought about us and our ways. Even after a war so disastrous to them, in which defeat was the invariable result of any attempt at resistance by land or sea on the part of their own forces, the people in and about Canton, he tells us—"now confidently believe that although we beat the regular soldiers during the war, their own volunteer corps could expel us from the country; and only look upon the war as a rebellious irruption of a tribe of barbarians, who, secure in their strong ships, attacked and took some places along the coast, and an important point on the grand canal, and then constrained the Emperor to make them some concessions." While in more familiar matters, daily under their observation, the same incapability of understanding even what they saw was constantly manifested. Foreigners, long forbidden to enter the city of Canton, or walk beyond the narrow limits of the factory grounds, naturally took such exercise as was in their power, by pacing up and down the garden walks in front of the factory, which was enclosed with iron railings, to prevent intrusion. Here, day by day, idle and curious natives habitually watched the proceedings, much as country visitors at the Zoological watch the wild animals, and being quite unable from their own experience to conceive that these foreigners were doing, what the lowest Chinese coolie never does, walking for pleasure or exercise and without an apparent object, came to the conclusion that the foreigner, in his inability to use a *Swanpan* or *Abacus*, reckons up his accounts in this way, or that it is a religious observance; and the common answer to any inquiry made of one thus engaged, is, that the foreigner is walking his "thousand steps." It is only by recalling these facts, that we can understand their assumptions of superiority, and high-handed acts of spoliation or contempt—and how they lightly risked another war, rather than open the gates of Canton to the resident foreigners in daily intercourse with them after the first. As in the previous time, they would only permit a temporary residence to the East India Company's Committee in the factory outside the city walls, during certain months in the year, and peremptorily prohibited their wives, or any female relatives, living within their precincts. We need not be surprised, after this, to hear that to this day, whatever may be the admitted merit of our progress in science, or intellectual achievements—in point of morality, and the higher civilization, we are considered very much their inferiors. How can a foreigner who does not know, and cannot even read, the works of Confucius, lay any claim to respect or consideration as a man of culture? They believe, as Mr. Meadows observed, "that we had, it is true, the power to do some great and extraordinary things, but so have the elephants and other wild animals the Chinaman occasionally

sees and hears of; in his eyes, therefore, we are all barbarians; without regular government, untutored, coarse, and wild.

How, then, can a nation with these ideas, and in total ignorance of the relative power of other states, be said to have a trade *forced* upon them against their will? At this time, 1840, such a possibility could not have found entrance into their minds. Nor, indeed, did it penetrate very far, even after the Treaty of Nankin. At that date, however, and from that period onward, force no doubt did come into play. That treaty was dictated by us, and its acceptance—however unpalatable the stipulations it contained—was the price of peace. Then was the time, if we were so disposed, for imposing upon them by force the opium trade, and its admission among the articles in the tariff at a fixed duty. But where is such a clause to be found? The whole treaty may be searched through, and not a word is to be found referring to the subject, or to opium in any way, with the exception of the 4th article, which simply specifies the sum the Emperor of China is required to pay “as the value of the opium which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March, 1839, as a ransom for the lives of her Britannic Majesty’s superintendent and subjects, who had been imprisoned and threatened with death by the Chinese high officer.” The same remark applies to the Supplementary treaty, signed a year later, in October, 1843, containing all the trade regulations. Opium is not included in the tariff of articles which might be legally imported. Neither may it be assumed that the subject was overlooked. The Chinese and English negotiators had it under consideration, as may be seen in the correspondence laid before Parliament in relation to the treaty. Both at that time, and subsequently, the matter was discussed between Sir Henry Pottinger and Keying, and later still with Sir John Davis. There was even a question of legalising the trade, on guarantee of a revenue of 3,000,000 of taels, which was declined on our part. It is quite true that the legalisation of opium was more than once urged by the British negotiator, with a view to prevent all the discredit and disorder attaching to a contraband trade, and affecting the character and interest of both nations, but the Chinese chiefly, but no pressure was brought to bear on the Chinese Commissioners to effect it. And it was mutually agreed, and publicly proclaimed—that a perfect understanding having been arrived at between the Imperial Commissioner and the British Plenipotentiary—“On the subject of opium the British and Chinese Governments shall adopt their own rules and regulations respectively with respect to their own subjects.” It was thus left open to the Chinese Government to treat it in the same manner as any other unenumerated article, and, if imported, to adopt whatever measures they pleased with their own subjects to prevent its sale or transit to the interior. If tacitly they declined to interfere with store or depôt skips in the outer anchorages known to contain opium, it is vain to contend that they were under compulsion in adopting this course.

And so from 1843 to 1856, as we see in the diagram, the opium trade went on largely increasing but unmolested. In 1856, a rupture was again brought on in October of that year, by a Chinese posse of officials and soldiers in a war-boat suddenly boarding the lorcha *Arrow*, while lying, with her colours flying, in the river near Canton, and



pinioning and carrying away the whole of her crew, after hauling down the English ensign. The alleged reason for this outrage was, that the vessel had a man on board said to be implicated in a piracy that took place two days previously. It has been asserted that this was another case of opium—but it was nothing of the kind. It afforded another occasion, however, for demonstrating how little fear the provincial authorities had of the employment of superior force by the British Government. And the second war that ensued afforded another occasion for the exercise of such force, to impose the recognition of the opium trade, if they saw fit to do so. The treaty was signed at Tientsin, however, without any reference to opium. Although in a remarkable, and in many respects a very sensible and practical memorial to the Emperor, published in the *Peking Gazette*, on January 4, 1853, a Censor, named Wooting-Poo, referring to the opium trade, had strongly advocated its legalisation as a source of revenue, and he alludes to the native opium produced in the west and south-west of China without any censure. He only says that the culture does not interfere with the rice crop, the one being grown in the winter and the other in the summer, and thus both contribute to obtaining the utmost profit from the soil, if both are legalised. Not that the memorialist is actuated by any friendly feeling to the English barbarians. He dislikes us, or at least feels under the necessity of ministering to the prejudices of those who do, and says, “from Peking and Canton officials and gentry, he has learned that ‘England is merely a poor anthill in the ocean; but we get rich by selling opium—wealth gave us power; this we used to seize on all the minor countries, particularly the opium-producing territories, and hence our stupid arrogance.’” And after recommending the levy of a duty as the best mode of enriching China and impoverishing England, he concludes by observing that, as the production of native opium increases, the importation of ours will diminish, and ultimately cease altogether. And, that as with the exception of opium, we have no produce of importance, our sources of wealth will be dried up, while those of China become more abundant. But that he by no means indulges the hope himself, nor holds it out to others, that the cultivation of the native poppy will cease, is very clearly shown. On the contrary, he tells the Emperor, “If the use of opium could be radically and completely stopped, that would be best; but the severest enactments against it have proved unavailing.” A new policy is therefore to be adopted, suited to an altered state of things. “The holy men (Confucius, &c.), themselves,” he adds, “did not attempt to stop the forced course of events. *Tobacco and spirituous liquors, prohibited by the Ming Dynasty, now yield a large revenue*; and if it be argued that opium renders the eaters incapable of business, and induces disease, the memorialist has to reply that there is nothing in the world but what proves injurious in excess. The same may be said of the wind and rain; and in eating and drinking, and other habits, it is self-control that will obviate the baneful effect.” Although Chinese ignorance of foreign States makes this intelligent officer talk ludicrous nonsense about others, I think you will all agree that it would be difficult to take a more rational and sensible view of the question now before us.

Lin's proceedings at Canton serve more conclusively to prove the

truth of my statement, and they themselves never doubted their right and their power to do whatever seemed good in their own eyes, where foreigners were alone concerned. The best informed Chinese, from the Emperor in his palace to the lowest officers in his service, looked upon all foreigners without distinction as barbarians; they never spoke of them, or wrote, except by the characters, *I*, signifying barbarian from uncivilised regions; or *Kweitze*, devil. *Fan-kwei*, "foreign devil," was the title by which I was greeted by all on arriving at the Consular Port of Foo-chow in 1845; and during the eighteen months I resided there, it was the only one familiar to children and grown-up people alike. To all Chinese officials and people, we were looked upon, in the period I refer to and much later, as the subjects of some tributary power, having no rights, and only permitted by the all-embracing condescension and benevolence of the "Son of Heaven" and Suzerain to trade, under such conditions as it might please him and his provincial authorities to grant, and so long only as the orders transmitted were reverently obeyed and received with due humility. It never entered into their imaginations that any serious opposition could be offered.

Although it must be abundantly proved, by the evidence already given, that all the prohibitions, Imperial and local, issued against the opium trade on the coast and at Canton were rendered nugatory by the virtual permission and open connivance of all the local authorities, and not dictated by any fear of resistance, or the exercise of force by a foreign power, but in furtherance of their own views and interests, it is necessary also to show, in respect to the course adopted in the interior by the Emperor and his officials, in permitting and even encouraging the culture of the poppy over whole provinces, that whatever reason may be assigned for this policy, it is impossible to accept the moral ground, ostensibly assigned in all the Imperial edicts, viz. :—anxiety for the welfare of the people. If the Emperor and his ministers believed that the nation was being ruined, and their lives destroyed by the consumption of this poisonous drug, why did they allow its culture in provinces removed from foreign contact or contamination? Equally impossible is it to imagine that the fear of force from without could play any part in the Imperial Council. If they tolerated the continuance of a foreign trade under protest as forced upon them, they should, at least, to preserve any shred or semblance of consistency, have interdicted the open culture of hundreds of square miles of poppy fields, throughout nine of the great provinces most remote from foreign aggression or influence of any kind. We know it has been said by themselves sometimes, and more frequently by the advocates in this country of a total suppression, that the mere fact of their inability to keep foreign opium out of the Empire paralysed their power with their own subjects to prevent their growing it for cheaper consumption. And that, as a question of finance and political economy, if millions were—owing to the continued lawlessness of foreigners and perverted taste in their own subjects—to be spent and wasted, it would be better for the country, and a diminution of the evil, that the sycee should remain in the Empire, instead of being drained out of it to fill the coffers of barbarians.

I am content to leave the appreciation of both these feeble pleas of



justification to the common sense of those who are here, and will not waste time in arguments to prove their fatuity. Nor will I go into details and proofs, which are so abundant as to place the fact of such cultivation, even under Imperial sanction, beyond question, as this part of the subject has been already fully dealt with in my article in the *Nineteenth Century*.

AREA AND POPULATION OF PROVINCES SUPPLIED WITH NATIVE  
AND FOREIGN OPIUM.

Nine Provinces, chiefly supplied from India.					Area in English square miles.	Population.
Chili ...	...	...	...	...	58,949	28,114,023
Shan-tung	...	...	...	...	65,104	28,958,764
Shansi	...	...	...	...	55,268	27,260,281
Honan	...	...	...	}	65,104	{ 23,037,171
Kiang-si	...	...	...		92,661	
Ngan-hui	...	...	...	}	72,176	{ 34,168,059
Kiang-si	...	...	...		154,008	
Shensi	...	...	...	}	154,008	{ 10,207,256
Kansu	...	...	...			
Total ...					563,270	235,209,189
Nine Provinces, with native culture.					Area in English square miles.	Population.
Yun-nan	...	...	...	...	109,869	5,561,320
Sz-chuen	...	...	...	...	166,800	21,435,678
Kwang-si	...	...	...	...	78,250	7,313,895
Kwan-tung	...	...	...	...	79,456	19,147,030
Kwei-chou	...	...	...	}	64,554	{ 5,288,219
Hu-nan	...	...	...		381,724	
Hu-pih	...	...	...	}	39,150	{ 37,370,097
Cheh-kiang	...	...	...		53,480	
Fuh-kien	...	...	...	...	53,480	38,888,432
Total ...					971,283	179,913,963
Grand Total ...					1,534,553	415,123,152

The map on the wall and the accompanying figures will show that, out of the eighteen provinces of China proper, nine, or one-half lying to the west, and furthest from the seaboard, here coloured red, comprising an area of 971,282 square miles, and with an estimated population of 179,913,968, are largely under native poppy culture, and wholly

supply their own population. There is a superfluity of evidence, from independent witnesses, in every sense trustworthy, *that no Indian opium competes, or has entered into consumption in all this vast region*, but some considerable portion of the produce is sent into the eastern provinces, on the other side, chiefly for admixture with the Indian, and to cheapen it. This native produce, being sold at half the price of the Indian, is further favoured by a large differential duty upon the Indian drug. What the extent of the produce may be, no precise information can be obtained. Mr. Hart confessedly only makes a guess, and places it at 100,000 piculs—the same quantity as that imported into the Treaty Port provinces from abroad. But all his official informants admit they can place no reliance upon any native accounts on such a subject. The Chinese authorities themselves, probably, do not know, and are content to tax the fields, and whatever produce they find on sale, or in transit from one province or town to another. But that they do tax and raise a large revenue upon all the native opium they can trace, and *under imperial sanction and legal licence*, is quite certain. Thus, while we know with certainty the number of opium smokers that can be supplied by Indian opium—that is to say the maximum number it would furnish with an average daily quantity—we cannot know even approximately, the number of smokers of native-grown opium. But whatever the proportion or the number—how is the foreigner responsible? The Indian drug is absolutely unknown in these provinces, we are assured by merchants and travellers alike. The poppy, there is reason to believe, is indigenous in China. It grows so extensively over the breadth of Asia, that it is difficult to fix its original habitat. It is certain that no foreign agency first introduced opium to the knowledge of the Chinese. The seeds of the poppy are said to have been used from time immemorial in the preparation of cakes and confections. But, be this as it may, their own authors prove incontestably, that it was known and in common use, though to what extent cannot be ascertained, before any foreign trade began. In the Chinese Herbal, compiled more than two centuries ago, both the plant and its inspissated juice are described, together with the mode of collecting it. Again, in the “General History of the Southern Province of Yunnan,” which was revised and republished in 1736, opium is noticed as a common produce. It is beyond all doubt that the use of opium has been general amongst Asiatics, as a stimulant and narcotic, from a time unknown, and consumed, in one form or another, much as wine, beer, and spirits are consumed all over Europe. Smoking would seem to be the least injurious mode of imbibing its narcotic properties. I stated in my recent article that Sir John Barrow mentions, in his account of Lord Macartney’s Mission in 1792, the prevalent use of the drug by officials and others within the upper ranks of society. In the fourth edition, of 1804, page 152, the following passage occurs:—“The upper ranks indulge at home in the use of opium. Great quantities of this intoxicating drug are smuggled into the country, notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the Government to prohibit the importation of it.” I am accused of having said in my article that “there was a large and unrestrained growth of the poppy in China *before the Foreign trade existed*,” but I never said anything of the kind. How much or how little was grown in the last century there is no means of knowing. And



as to the relative proportion now, or within the last fifty years which chiefly concerns us, of the native produce and the foreign importation, I only quoted the reports of competent authorities as to what they and others had seen, and their estimate of the probable proportion of the native growth being greatly in excess of the foreign supply in late years. Even as far back as 1837, within four years of the war occasioned by the furious zeal of Lin to confiscate and utterly destroy opium in the China seas, the cultivation of the poppy was known to be allowed. Of this I have already given many proofs on the authority of Chinese censors, but here is another of the same authoritative character. Mr. Wade (now Sir Thomas), in a most instructive "Note on the Condition and Government of the Chinese Empire in 1849," chiefly derived from the *Pekin Gazette*, while he was acting as Assistant Chinese Secretary to the British Plenipotentiary and Superintendent of Trade, gives the following information:—"From the testimony of some natives consulted, and from information officially collected at the ports, it is believed that the poppy is now cultivated in the nine provinces of Yun-nan, Sz-chewen, Kwang-si, Kwan-tung, Kwei-chan, Hu-nan, Hu-pih, Cheh-kiang and Fuh-kien. In the two last the opium sold is coarse, and reported to be more immediately pernicious to the constitution of the consumer than the foreign article. The crop in Kwan-tung, in 1847, was said to be from 8,000 to 10,000 piculs;" and adds, that the only accounts received from natives was given in such vague and "thousand myriad" phrases, that upon similar questions no reliance could be placed upon their evidence. But there could be no question as to there being a large native culture at that date.

In 1865, Mr. Watters, her Majesty's Consul at Ichang, reported "that all over Western China the conditions of poppy culture, as far as the officials are concerned, are those of perfect freedom, and even open encouragement." Thus, at the very time that the ministers were negotiating with me for the prohibition of the British import of opium, on the moral ground that it was destructive to the people, and was strictly prohibited, both native culture and consumption in the provinces existed to an enormous amount, and paid taxes to the Government nominally prohibiting it one day, and sanctioning it the next by another Imperial rescript granting licenses.

Mr. Baber, another officer in her Majesty's Consular service, of the highest intelligence and ability, in 1877 traversed from North to South nearly the whole of China, and especially the little-known Western Provinces to Talifu and Molmein, and he reported that he was "astounded at the extent of the poppy cultivation, both in Se-chuen and Yun-nan. In ascending the river (Yang-tse) wherever cultivation existed, we found numerous fields of poppy. Even the sandy banks were often planted with it down to the water's edge. But it was not until we began our land journey to Yun-nan that we fairly realised the enormous extent of its production. With some fear of being discredited—but, at the same time, with a consciousness that I am understating the proportions—I estimate that the poppy fields constitute a third of the whole province of Yun-nan." This province alone, as you may see, has an estimated area of 107,869 square miles. This information is more than confirmed by two independent witnesses, Messrs. Soltan and Stevenson, of the China Inland Mission, who traversed

Yun-nan from Bhamo, in 1880-1, to the Yang-tze. M. Soltan says that in Yun-nan, "three-fourths of all the land under cultivation is occupied by the Emerald Poppy plant. It is largely cultivated in the valleys, but chiefly in the hills. The poppy pays better than any other crop, for not only does Yun-nan produce all the opium consumed in the province, but *opium forms the principal export, and is carried all over the empire of Burmah. No Indian opium reaches Upper Burmah*, the large amount consumed in that kingdom being entirely supplied from Yun-nan, and, it need not be added, *no Indian opium enters Yun-nan.*" So much for Li Hung-Chang's solemn assurance, in July last, that his "Government will take effective measures to enforce the laws against the cultivation of the poppy in China, and otherwise check the use of opium; and I earnestly hope that your Society, and all right-minded men of your country, will support the efforts China is now making to escape from the thralldom of opium." I do not know how far the Society may "support the efforts China is now making"—but I think I can answer for a great many right-minded men of my country, after the information now given, declining altogether to be associated with either Li Hung-Chang or his Government in such efforts, either on moral or fiscal grounds. As to the latter, and the same great Minister's declaration, "once for all, that the single aim of his Government in taxing opium will be in the future, as it has always been in the past, to repress the traffic, never to gain revenue from such a source," I leave it to this ingenious coiner of specious phrases to reconcile this "single aim" with his last negotiations with the British Minister to increase the import duties on opium, and better secure the Likin taxes; and his still later proposal to purchase of the Indian Government the monopoly of the present foreign trade in the drug for the avowed purpose of securing an increased revenue. To any ordinary understanding it would seem a very difficult undertaking to reconcile the two objects.

I leave these facts for the consideration of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and believe any further evidence on this part of the subject entirely superfluous.

But, after all, this argument of force—were it better founded than it is—for the condemnation of our relations with China, in regard more especially to opium, must not be pushed too far. It is especially undesirable in the interest of missionaries. Force, no doubt, has been employed to bring about all existing conditions of intercourse, political and commercial. By no other means could the state of misrule and arbitrary exactions, under menace of injury to persons or property, already described as the only system of intercourse recognised by the Chinese, have been put an end to. Prevailing throughout the preceding 200 years, the outbreak in 1840 was the natural and inevitable outcome of the cumulative misdeeds of the Chinese Government and authorities. No doubt it is true, and may be freely acknowledged, that we "forced" ourselves—our trade (our opium as a part of it, if you will)—but also our missionaries, upon the Chinese Government and people. And of all these unwelcome intrusions, opposed as they were to the exclusive character and the national policy of this Eastern race, the most objectionable element in the whole was the missionary—the most productive of alarm and hostility, and the most persistently and bitterly opposed.



We have been told quite recently, in regard to opium, that we should not consider what we Englishmen think about opium, but what the Chinese think about it. Would the Society in whose name this is urged, like this rule to be applied to opinions about Christianity and the Missionary in China? Can it be forgotten that the parting words of Prince Kung to the British Minister at Peking, twelve years ago, coupled two objects together, missionaries and opium, in his desire that China might be relieved of both? It is obvious that missionaries, of all other people, should be careful how they strain this argument of force as an objection to the policy which alone permits them, against the will of the Chinese Government, the authorities, and the people, to carry out their pious mission. It will not be disputed that we have imposed our missionaries upon the nation by treaty, as we have not imposed opium, and upheld them in the exercise of their functions against the will of the Rulers, and the unceasing and bitter hostility of officials, literati and gentry, even at the cost of a war, in the case of the French, and of armed intervention and the risk of war, on many occasions, on our own side. Yes, it is quite true there has been a Missionary war, as well as what is commonly, but not very truly, designated an "opium war." When the French forces joined the British in the war of 1858, it was to avenge the execution of M. Chadelaine, a French missionary, who was executed in 1856, at Si-lin, near the borders of Yun-nan, in the province of Kwang-si, by the mandarin in authority, after the most brutal treatment and long-protracted torture.\* The French Government, immediately on receipt of the official accounts, announced its intention of obtaining ample reparation, by an expedition if necessary. We have heard much of the hostile influences traceable to opium and the opium trade, and especially the obstacles and prejudices it has created against their labours for the conversion of the people. But I can say truly, in my own experience, that during a quarter of a century spent in the far East—the heaviest responsibility I ever accepted, and one of the greatest perils encountered, was in defence of a missionary party, nearly murdered by some Shantung junk-men at Tsing-poo, a town situated at some distance from Shanghai. In the course of my proceedings, I had to maintain for nearly a month a blockade of an Imperial fleet of Rice junks, whilst living myself, with my family, in the heart of a Chinese city, surrounded, beyond all chance of rescue or escape, by hostile authorities and a populace entirely under their control. And I may add generally, that no small part of the work entailed upon the Foreign Legations at Peking, the Consuls at the ports, and her Majesty's ships in the China seas, arises from missionary questions, and the duty of exacting reparation for injuries inflicted upon them by the populace or the authorities, wherever these operations for the conversion of the people extend. I don't think any better evidence can be required to show in how hostile a spirit they and their labours are regarded. Of this I am well assured, that if the Chinese Government and people were left to the free exercise of their own will, without any fear of consequences from the force which is known to uphold the treaties, that they would speedily, and by general consent, make a clean sweep of all foreigners—of ministers and consuls first perhaps, but of missionaries assuredly in

\* See correspondence respecting "Insults in China," presented to the House of Lords, 1857, p. 220-1.

the second place—missionaries of all denominations and nationalities—and the merchants last, even the traders in opium. Viewed, therefore, in whatever aspect we please—as a cause of political enmity, or an obstruction to missionary success—the opium trade must occupy a very subordinate place in any true estimate of the influences in operation, during the last forty years, to prejudice the minds of the Chinese, and keep up the spirit of opposition and hostility to the foreigner and all his works—hostility which has never been absent in all their intercourse with the European race from the beginning, now more than two centuries ago to the present time. And if we may judge of the real cause and object of this enmity by the most authentic declarations of the people themselves, and the educated classes known as the “literati and gentry,” and the officials, as well as the long series of outrages, murders, and massacres, all directed against the missionaries and their work, without discriminating between Romanist and Protestant, the enmity created by the foreign importation of opium sinks into insignificance, and will not bear comparison with the hatred felt and openly expressed for missionaries of every denomination and their doctrines. That I may not be charged with exaggeration, I will cite one or two of the most striking of these written expressions of feeling, perpetually recurring in placards posted up in the streets—for, as to the long list of cruel attacks on the person and property of the various missions in nearly every part of China where they have penetrated, these are too well-known to require much further evidence.

I hold in my hand the translation of a Chinese book, with the sinister title of a “A Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines”—which in the title page is called “a plain statement of facts published by the gentry and people.” The translators, missionaries themselves I believe, tell us in the preface that the book in the original came into the hands of the missionaries in Teng-chow, in the province of Shantung, in 1870, and that it was regarded—very justly, I think—“as of too much importance to be withheld from the foreign public, believing, as we do, that it is a remarkably truthful representation of the animus of the ruling and literary classes of China towards foreigners. We believe also,” they proceeded to say, “that it has been largely instrumental in giving rise to the vile and slanderous stories concerning foreign residents (missionaries?) and native Christians which have recently spread through China; and that it sheds important light on the means by which the recent massacre at Tientsin was brought about. No mere description, however full, could possibly convey any adequate idea of its vileness and deadly animosity.” They further add, “It may be said that the book is directed against the Roman Catholics, and that Protestant missionaries need not concern themselves with it.” “It is a sufficient reply,” the translators say, “that although its phraseology applies primarily to Roman Catholics, it has, in point of fact, been used and quoted against Protestant missionaries; not only so, but in the body of the book itself, Roman Catholics and Protestants are expressly declared to be the same; and it is explicitly stated that the distinction made between them, in the recent treaties, is a mere pretence or subterfuge devised for the purpose of avoiding the obloquy which the previous history of that religion has brought upon itself. It is furthermore notoriously the fact that the masses of the people know no distinction.



They class all Europeans together, and their religion they regard as one." Practically, then, and in the intent of the author, the book is an attack on Christianity and Christian nations at large. It is, for the most part, a compilation from other works, and a portion of it was written against the Jesuits as long ago as the seventeenth century. "The author," we are further assured, "with great pains and no little research, has collected every false and slanderous charge within his reach, which would suit his purpose, and, without intimating that they have been disproved, reproduces and reiterates them in the ears of the present generation, with all the confidence of truth, and makes them the occasion of a fresh appeal to the people to rise against foreigners and exterminate them."

Now this is a very remarkable fact, that in the year 1870, nearly thirty years after the Treaty was signed, and contact established with foreigners of all nations and their missionaries at five Treaty ports, amidst great populations, such a book should be published professedly by the "Gentry and People." And whatever may be the history of its authorship, we are told that it has undoubtedly been written by some one of first-class education and literary abilities, with extensive facilities for consulting public documents, and ransacking all that has ever been written in China against foreigners or Christianity. And the author, or parties interested in its publication and circulation, must hold no mean position, seeing that they can secure its distribution throughout the country by the "hands of the mandarins and their underlings." The book is generally attributed in China to Reng-yu-hien, an official in high office, and lately spoken of as a probable successor to a Viceroy at Nanking.

But whoever may have been the author, the translators state their conviction that it shows, in a vivid light, the real animus of the people, who have arrayed themselves against missionaries and foreigners alike, and seek to manufacture a public sentiment ready for any deeds of violence and blood. The book begins with an extract from the "Sacred Edict," suppressing, as the author asserts, "strange religions, for the purpose of exalting orthodox doctrine." This "Sacred Edict," we are told, in a note of the translator, "so-called because written by two of the canonised emperors of the present dynasty, is a kind of paternal address from the throne to the people, and is held in the greatest reverence by the Chinese." The first part was published by the Emperor Kanghi in 1676; and his son Yung-chen published, in 1724, an amplification: the two productions constitute what is called the Sacred Edict. The artful design of the author of the pamphlet is evidently to convince his readers that, to drive out foreigners and their religion, would be but carrying out the views of the most renowned emperors of the present dynasty, if not of Chinese history,—and certainly many passages in the introductory chapter go far to bear out this conclusion, that the religions of the West are not to be regarded as "Orthodox," or as teaching authorised doctrines; and, as for "unauthorised doctrines, which deceive the people, Chinese laws cannot tolerate them; and for false and corrupt teachers, the Government has fixed punishments." Chinese subjects are accordingly enjoined, with submissive reverence to the Imperial will, and in obedience to it, to "reject and oppose corrupt doctrines as you would robbers, conflagra-

tion, and flood. Indeed, the injury inflicted by flood, conflagration, and robbers extends only to the body, while that of corrupt doctrines extends to the mind." Then follows what the author of the pamphlet calls a collection of facts respecting the false religion of Tien-chu, by a "man of Jao-chow, above all others distressed in heart." The religion of Tien-chu, as he explains, originated with Jesus—and is universally adopted by all Western nations, and Jesus he describes as an impostor, who his adherents falsely assert was endowed with divine gifts.

I am not going to shock my hearers by quoting any of the ribald, obscene, and atrocious calumnies with which this writer has filled his book, collated, he says, from "authorities consulted," of which he ostentatiously quotes a long list at the commencement. One of the mildest of the iniquities attributed to Christians is obtaining the eyes, brains, heart, and livers of children for some magical and occult purposes, and the performance of incantations to bewitch their victims for nefarious ends, by which means those who follow their instruction become their abject slaves.

When such vile calumnies as this book contains can be circulated among a whole people, with the connivance, if not the direct intervention, of the educated and ruling classes, we cannot be surprised at such a butchery as took place a little later at Tientsin, of which I have already spoken, as a true index to a prevailing tone of mind and opinion among the Chinese. This massacre of a whole mission, together with the French Consul, secretary, and other foreigners, is, in fact, a typical example of the outcome. It was the most daring and atrocious of all the series of outrages of which missionaries had been the victims since the Treaty of 1842, which stipulated for the free exercise of their religion, and tolerance for their converts. It was not a sudden outbreak of the populace, but a deliberate and planned attack. Some days before June 21, 1870, the British Consul wrote to the *Chargé d'Affaires* at Peking, Mr. Wade, to report a very unsatisfactory state of things at the port; and that for some time previously there had been threats from the Chinese that they would kill the foreigner, or drive him away from the port. "The last few days," he says, "the excitement has increased; the Chinese have declared their intention to burn the Roman Catholic cathedral and the French consulate, and to kill all the foreigners." There was no ship of war of any nationality at the port, and the Consul expressed a well-founded anxiety—as the event only too plainly proved—for the safety of all in the Foreign Settlement. The authorities were appealed to, and, as usual, with no effect; and later in the day, the Consul had to report to Peking that "his worst fears had proved only too true," and that the Cathedral, French Consulate, and Sisters' Hospital were burned to the ground, that the French Consul had perished with a Russian lady and her husband, and several of the sisters. When the details came to be known, however, the calamity was found to be much greater than at first reported. The deliberate and premeditated violence of the mob exceeded anything the imagination could have pictured in ferocity and brutality. Some days elapsed before what had taken place could with any accuracy be ascertained. It was not until the 24th, three days after the destruction of the cathedral, hospital, and consulate, that the floating bodies of the



victims in the river revealed the full extent of the horrors perpetrated. On the 23rd, Mr. Lay, the acting consul, on information, went to the river-bank, where he found the remains of a Russian lady, just married to one of the Russian residents, and a few minutes later that of her husband, and close by another, a Chinese, one of the coolies, who was killed while carrying them through the city. The lady had her chemise tied round her head and was otherwise quite naked—her left arm was broken, and her body covered with wounds. Later, a third Russian was taken out of the river, and shortly after this, the body of the French Consul, although Chung Hou had assured Mr. Lay and his colleagues that Fontainès, the French Consul, was killed by his side, and that his body was in the Yamen. His body was fearfully mutilated, and he was naked except his feet. Still later in the day the officials sent to say that they had picked up five bodies—French—which were sent to the consulate, and the Consul says, a more fearful spectacle he never saw—as may well be imagined. The first coffin contained a Mr. Thompson, who was on his way to Peking with his wife when the attack took place—he had been cruelly maltreated—and the second coffin contained his wife, having been killed, apparently by a fearful gash at the back of the head. The next was the body of M. Simon, the French Secretary, and was so cut about that it was difficult to recognise the features. M. Chevries, the head of the Lazarist Mission, and the body of one of the Christian ordained priests, it is supposed, but utterly unrecognisable, close the dismal list, but not the death-roll. M. and Mdme. Chalmassoir, a French merchant and his wife, had also been killed, the first on coming out of his own door. His wife escaped down a small Chinese street, and was taken into a small house and concealed by the women; but at night she dressed herself as a Chinese girl, and went back to her own house. Finding it deserted, she tried to return; but having forgotten the house, and knocked at the wrong door, and called out to open, the people heard her, knew she was foreign from her accent, and killed her. But the most painful part of this tragic story still remains to be told. Nine Sisters of Charity, who had devoted their lives to works of mercy at the hospital for sick and destitute children, found none from their assailants. They were all sacrificed under circumstances the most revolting. They were stripped and exposed to the brutal gaze of the rabble, and then stabbed, and their bodies flung into the fire blazing around them. I have given these hideous details, because it is only by such knowledge that the ferocity of a Chinese populace and the intensity of their hatred can be realised—or the cruel duplicity and supineness of all the authorities and Chinese officials, if not their active complicity, as in this case there was only too much reason to suspect. The cry raised to excite the mob was a repetition of the atrocious calumnies of the book just described—of kidnapping men and children to take out their eyes, for occult practices. It may seem incredible that such charges should find acceptance; but yet the scenes described at Warsaw, in a Christian country, on last Christmas Day, when the Jews were butchered quite as ruthlessly by a furious mob without any provocation, and on very similar charges and pretexts, is an exact counterpart. And as if to make the parallel more complete, the authorities showed the same disgraceful supineness, and allowed the Jews to be murdered and their homes to be wrecked, just as the

homes of the Christians at Tientsin were, and in each case any honest effort on the part of the authorities and police would have effectually prevented or put a stop to such outrages. In Tientsin, the Chehien or magistrate, a few days before, when information was given of the impending danger, had actually—under pretence of calming the excitement of the people and disabusing their minds of unfounded suspicions against the mission, instilled into them by the evil-disposed—issued a proclamation confirming these suspicions, and treating the charges of kidnapping as having some real foundation, and evidently giving credence to the malevolent reports against the sisters. It is this duplicity of the authorities and officials generally in all matters affecting the foreigners, their lives and interests, which has been a constant element in all our relations and dealings with them. Proclamations with high sounding phrases enjoining respect for the laws—which to the people accustomed to such formal prohibitions meant nothing, or,—rather read between the lines—were interpreted to mean full licence. So it was in this case as in all other instances, of which a hundred might be cited, even after the three disastrous wars must have proved to them the danger attending such bad faith. The same double-dealing and insincerity has marked all their dealings with the opium trade, and with the natural result of encouraging an illicit trade with the foreigner, and simultaneously an extensive native culture of the poppy in the teeth of a perennial flood of denunciations and prohibitive edicts from the Emperor and the local authorities. Sir John Bowring was perfectly justified, therefore, in replying to and refuting the monstrous allegations contained in Lord Shaftesbury's memorial to her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;\* and in alluding to the depravity of the public morals among the higher classes of the Chinese, not unfrequently referred to even in documents which appeared in the *Peking Gazette*—of the large consumption of opium in the Imperial Palace, and at that time of the licentious habits of the reigning sovereign, which had been the subject of official censure, Sir John says:—

“I mention this (the above facts) because, contrary to all evidence, the moral sense in China, in high places, has been represented to be exceedingly sensitive with reference to a national vice which permeates through every grade of society; and, unhappily, is not checked by a healthy state of public opinion; and while, in many of the provinces where the power of the Government is absolute, the growth of the poppy is permitted, and the manufacture of opium encouraged, the vehement language of some official documents may certainly be interpreted rather as a manifestation of ill-will against foreigners, and a repugnance to intercourse with ‘barbarian nations,’ than as evidence of a desire to preserve public virtue from taint, or the public health from injury. And it may well be doubted whether a declaration, on the part of the East India Company, that they were willing to stop the growth and the export of opium, would influence, in the slightest degree, the repulsive policy of China.”

And as to the religious bearings of the opium, and the paralysation

\* See despatch No. 26, of Jan. 8th, 1856, in papers relating to the opium trade in China, 1842-56, presented to the House of Lords by command, May 8th, 1857.



of missionary efforts consequent upon the trade, we shall all agree with Sir John when he says, in the same despatch—

“When, however, it is said that the principal cause of the non-success of missionaries in China is the introduction of opium by professing Christians, and that the use of the drug greatly augments the difficulties which missionaries meet with in the circulation and reception of Christian doctrine, it might be reasonably asked whether the greater proportionate number of native professing Christians are not really to be found in the districts where opium is most consumed? I venture to express an opinion that the small success of missionary efforts in China is traceable to other causes than the existence of the opium trade; but this is not the place for justifying such an opinion.

“It is true that, as in Great Britain, there are numbers of most excellent and religious men who would, by the most stringent and active legislation, prohibit the manufacture and sale of all fermented and intoxicating liquors, whose fatal effects, if honestly portrayed, would present pictures infinitely more alarming and appalling than the use of opium exhibits in China; it is true that China is honoured by the appeals of eminent and eloquent individuals, who have earnestly declaimed and protested against the introduction, sale, and smoking of opium; but I must doubt the existence of that high moral sentiment against the use of opium which is represented as actuating the great functionaries or the people in general.”

It is a fact beyond question that the British Government have never claimed a right to introduce opium prior to 1859, exercised any force to protect the foreign traders in opium transactions, or disputed the right of the Chinese Government to make what laws they pleased to prohibit its importation.

But I repeat that, in view of the past history of all our relations with China, too much has been made of the use of force in placing our intercourse on a more stable and equitable basis. In no other way, and by no other means, could that end have been attained. Whether one nation is justified in forcing itself on another—their intercourse, their trade, and their religion, or any one of these—is a question of too large a scope to be discussed here. But assuming that such a right exists, and has in all ages and in every part of the world been enforced when there was the power to do so, then all past history shows that between the European and Asiatic races no treaty or conditions of permanent intercourse has ever been entered into save by force. No Eastern potentate or people have ever welcomed the intrusion of strangers into their domains with pretensions of an international character. China has only followed the invariable rule of rejecting and resisting, to the extent of its power, the efforts of Great Britain to establish such relations. And after the rapid survey I have taken of the progress of trade and treaty obligations, and how these latter have been disregarded by the Chinese authorities and people, I think it will be evident to all that we may well congratulate ourselves that we have “enforced” treaties on a civilised basis, and that there is known to be such a force in reserve to uphold them in their integrity, that not even an empire like China, with its vast resources, can with impunity violate the humanising condition of international relations. What part opium may with any truth be supposed to play in this unpleasant and hostile spirit

is not clear—there is little evidence to show that it has any. But of one thing I am entirely convinced, that none of these brutal and ferocious outrages and onslaughts, of which missionaries or still more helpless women have been the chief victims, have ever been perpetrated under its influence. The opium smoker is both passive and harmless while under its spell—those who commit deeds of violence are not of their number, though drinkers of *samschoo* may be, and usually are, leaders of tumult, brawlers, and habitual disturbers of the peace wherever they are found.

Turning now to the vital question on which, as regards opium, the morality of its consumption mainly turns, we have to ascertain whether there is anything in the chemical composition and physiological action of opium so exceptional in its nature, in the destructiveness of its allurements, the strength of its grip, or the enervating and demoralising power it exercises over its habitual consumers that it cannot be classed with any other of the large and universally distributed products of the earth, possessed of stimulant and narcotic properties, in common use in different countries.

Because this is what is asserted of it ; and this is how it is regarded by those who declare a nation to be covered with infamy who take any part in its production or sale. Unless it can be shown that it has this entirely *exceptional* character—is a poison pure and simple, the administration of which can be no benefit to man, and must be fatal as no other narcotic or stimulant in common use among all the nations of the earth—Christian and heathen, civilised and savage—those who advocate its total suppression as a national duty, and would apply a stigma on any nation producing it, must be content to let it be weighed in the balance with all the others.

Of the testimony of the missionaries, I may say at once that their graphic descriptions of the deplorable and irremediable effects of opium, as these have come under their notice, are no doubt accurate and trustworthy. But it is true, as any description of the frightful condition to which habitual dram and beer drinkers are reduced in every day's experience would be true, when *delirium tremens* is a constant liability, and imbecility with softening of the brain closes a longer or shorter life of intemperance. But unless all who habitually consume wine or malt and spirituous liquors were drunkards, and victims of an inevitable tendency to that end, which we who live among them know is not the case, it would not be true, as applied to the great mass of non-abstainers in the population. And although it must be admitted there is a very general consensus of opinion among the missionaries, even this is to be taken with many qualifications. Some among their number, and others working with them, medical practitioners in populous Chinese cities, in every way fitted by professional training and knowledge to arrive at a right conclusion, have not less emphatically recorded their dissent from the adverse conclusions of the missionaries, as applied to the great body of opium smokers ; and this is the contention of the second class of observers, who have no motive for misrepresentation, are above suspicion of any wilful perversion of facts, and are unusually exempt, by their position and vocation, from class prejudices or foregone conclusions.

The evidence of the merchants may be supposed to be liable to bias, but cannot be overlooked. Some of the oldest residents, and members



of the great firms, have borne witness to the perfect efficiency of their compradores, and others, to whom, in a long series of years, large sums of money and important business transactions were daily entrusted, although their habits of opium smoking were well known. We will take the missionaries first, selecting as their representatives those who, as medical officers, are most competent to speak professionally.

Dr. Hobson, long and honourably known in connection with the London Missionary Society, and zealously engaged in missionary work as the medical officer in charge of the hospital at Canton, in giving his opinion, says\* :—

“ I must first premise that I place alcohol (the bane of Great Britain) and opium (the bane of China) in the same category, and on the same level, as to the general injurious influence upon society ; what may be said against the latter may be said with equal truth against the former. I shall have opportunities, as I proceed with my letter, to remark the analogies and differences that subsist between them. It has been my painful experience to have been brought in contact with individuals indulging in both these unnatural stimulants.

“ You will see from these observations that I do not, and cannot regard the use of opium by the Chinese as a matter of little consequence. I must pronounce it a great and growing evil, the alleviation or removal of which every true philanthropist must desire and rejoice to see. But as an act of justice to my country, to the East India Company, and British merchants, who have been so much abused at different times by the public press, both in England and America, I do not hesitate to affirm that many things said against the opium trade as ‘ facts,’ are merely assertions and problematical theory.

“ It is very common to hear Chinese acknowledge that they have smoked opium ten, twenty, or even thirty years. I have seen a few who have taken it forty years ; and I have heard of one (probably an extreme case) who began taking opium when he was nineteen, and took it regularly for fifty-one years ; he died lately at the advanced age of seventy years.

“ Opium is probably more seductive and tenacious in its grasp than alcohol ; and I should certainly affirm that it was not so frequently fatal to life, nor so fruitful of disease and crime, as is the case with intoxicating drinks in Great Britain.”

Dr. Eatwell says : “ Proofs are still wanting to show that the moderate use of opium produces more pernicious effects than the moderate use of spirituous liquors ; while it is certain that the consequences of the abuse of the former are less appalling, in their effects upon the victims, and less disastrous to society, than the consequences of the abuse of the latter.”

The Colonial Surgeon of Hong-Kong, in 1855, gave it in evidence, as the result of his experience, “ that more disease and a greater mortality takes place from excess in drinking spirituous liquors, among the 600 foreign residents in Hong-Kong, than results from the use of the latter among 60,000 Chinese of the native population.”

Dr. Myers, in the Medical Reports of the Inspectorate of Chinese Customs, for 1880, just issued, gives at considerable length the results

\* See inclosure from Dr. Hobson to Sir J. Bowring, in despatch No. 26, November 6, 1855, Parliamentary Papers above cited.

of his experience, during ten years, while in charge of a hospital establishment for the Chinese, in Formosa, where 20,000 patients have been treated. During this period, he has closely investigated the effects of opium, under circumstances peculiarly favourable for observation, and putting aside the moral aspect of the question, he confines himself simply to the professional bearing of the subject, and claims to rank among those who can speak from an entirely impartial and disinterested point of view. The conclusion he comes to—from his experience in Formosa, where a great proportion of the Chinese are opium smokers, and in Chehkiang, where he practised before coming to Formosa, and the opium pipe is also in general requisition—is that the smokers generally, over China, may be divided into two classes. 1st. The minority, who, being either officials or well-to-do persons, can afford to give way to their passion, and indulge to excess. 2nd. The majority, consisting of persons who are obliged to work hard for a living, and among whom moderation is the rule. Here, as elsewhere, the grand prompter to excess is the co-existence of idleness; and those who, having no occupation, seek among the vices for relief from otherwise unbearable *ennui*. In other circumstances, case after case will be met, of men who have smoked regularly from 10 up to 20, or even 30 years, and who, as far as he can discover, show little or no signs of mental or physical degeneration. The average amount consumed by these is from one to two mace per diem.

“Here, in Southern Formosa, there is a class of men, including the coolies, chair-bearers, and couriers, who daily do an amount of physical work that is remarkable in its extent. These have for years been in the habit of taking a certain quantity of opium during the day, seldom or never varying it; and they assert that by so doing they at least attain a greater degree of comfort in carrying on their labours, and, with but very rare exceptions, I must admit that I have failed to obtain evidence which would justify me in attributing any marked harm to their habit.

“Of course, among every class of men there are those to whom moderation is impossible, and who, in the gratification of their desires, will drag themselves and those dependent on them to the lowest misery. This we find one of the greatest evils connected with alcoholic intemperance; but I must say that my experience, both here and in other parts of China, would go to support the statement that the use of opium through the medium of a pipe does not, at least up to a certain point, so irresistibly and inherently tend to provoke excess as undoubtedly is very often the case with the stimulants commonly indulged in by foreigners.

“Were the seductive powers of opium so great and cumulatively overwhelming as has sometimes been asserted, I cannot but think that, among the class of which I am now speaking, dependent as most of them are for a livelihood on their exertions, we should have a very much greater number of instances of its disastrous effects on purse and person; but I do most conscientiously state that although I have met with instances in which the effects were most marked and deplorable, still, when considered in numerical relation to the numbers who smoke opium, I have been struck with their paucity, and my pre-conceived prejudices with reference to the universally baneful effects of the drug have been severely shaken.



“As contrasted with the drunkard, the opium sot decidedly has the advantage—that is, as far as his bearing to his fellow-beings goes; for whereas one, under the influence of liquor, is noisy, quarrelsome, and often dangerous, the druggard (if I may for convenience coin a word) is at least quiet and orderly. That abuse of alcohol is a marked factor in the production of crime of the most heinous nature, all will admit; while, as far as I can learn, opium comparatively seldom leads to crime, and even then, this rarely, if ever, attains to higher dignity than petty theft.”

Dr. Tanner, again, in his standard work on “Practice of Medicine,” suggests, in the case of confirmed dipsomaniacs, the substitution of opium eating for wine bibbing as the lesser of the two evils.

Dr. Jamieson, in his Hankou Report, refers to the presence in opium of another active principle and alkaloid besides morphia—which is not narcotic—and is termed, not very happily, by chemists, narcotine, for it has nothing narcotic in it. It is a bitter, like quinine, nearly in equal proportions with the morphia, and found to have many of the qualities of quinine in the treatment of intermittent fevers. When in India in 1870, I was informed it was coming into large consumption in such cases, administered medicinally. It was to this principle I alluded in my evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1871, as indicating a possible sanative power to the opium smoker inhabiting the low swampy deltas of the great Chinese rivers, and working under a tropical sun on a nearly vegetable diet, with a little fish or semi-putrescent cabbage—made so to increase the flavour. I also mentioned that when at Patna I was told another fact by the medical superintendent, of great significance. During the prevalence of cholera in India, it was found that none of the workers—men, women, and children, to the number of several hundreds—employed in the Government factory, in the preparation of opium for the market, seemed subject to attacks from this fell disease. And as they never left the factory without being subjected to the most rigorous and minute search, to see that they took none of the drug away with them concealed on their person, the prophylactic influence must have been exerted in their systems by the fumes, or more subtle emanations, from the poppy juice in its inspissated state. This fact, taken in connection with others, led me to believe that a similar preventive and sanitary effect may attend the use of opium in China, where dysentery and kindred diseases are very common, as well as malarious fevers.

I will only mention one other circumstance which has recently come to my knowledge, that in Cambridgeshire, where the people are also subject to fen fevers, a common use is made of opium as a remedy or preventive. And a Government Inspector of Schools, who had lately come into the district from one of the northern counties, was struck by the fact how much more peaceable and sober the working classes were than those he had lately been familiar with in the north, where no opium was consumed, but a very large quantity of alcoholic and fermented liquors.

I think I have said enough to show the importance of testing opium by some comparative standard, and letting its merits and demerits be tried by results and experience, in comparison with the rest of the large family of stimulants and narcotics, and abandoning for the purpose the

moral ground, before we decide how far it may be held a sin to deal with any one of them, either as a producer or consumer ?

The history of narcotics and stimulants is one of the deepest interest ; but to do it the barest justice a whole evening, and not the small remnant at my disposal, would be required. To make up for this defect of time, I have had the large chart of the world now before you prepared, to show at a glance how wide-spread is the use among all the races, of narcotics and intoxicating products. It is only by such a survey of the proclivities and instincts of the human race, as these have been developed in every region where the different divisions of the family have found a habitation and a home—and under every clime and variety of conditions, physical and moral—that we can descend from the general to the particular, and form a right judgment on the application of the knowledge thus obtained, as to the true bearing of any particular selection made in one nation or section of the whole category or family of narcotics and stimulants.

If we look at the chart, we see by the various shades and colours that the whole world is covered in tracts and belts, marking the *habitat* of certain specific products yielding narcotic and intoxicating principles for the common use of those who dwell within those limits. They number more than fifty in common use, over larger or smaller tracts of country—but in this chart I have limited the number to eight of the principal, to prevent confusion, following the small map given in Mr. Johnston's able and instructive work on the "Chemistry of Common Life," which everyone interested in the subject should read.

You could not well have a more striking demonstration of the wide distribution and variety of vegetable products yielding aliment to the craving of man for *some* narcotic or stimulant. The universality of the appetite is only equalled by the abundant—inexhaustible provision made by nature for its satisfaction in every region under the sun, and wherever man has found a home. And not only this, but the outer husk or form under which their narcotic and intoxicating principles lie hidden, is of such infinite variety that it may well be a matter for wonder and speculation how all races, in every stage of barbarism, have succeeded in divining their secret, and compelling them to yield their treasure for his use.

We read that when Columbus, in 1492, discovered a new world in the West, he found in Cuba a gentle race of natives, who, both men and women, had in their mouths rolls of leaves, from which they inhaled the smoke—a plant growing wild, and without care or cultivation, on their native hills. Who taught these simple savages the existence of a narcotic principle in the tobacco leaf, and the art of enjoying its soothing properties by setting fire to it and inhaling the smoke ?

Here are marvels not to be explained by any theory that would treat all such tastes as artificial, vicious, and sinful—and exclude the whole family of narcotics from common use, in furtherance of an asceticism which, if it were not as impracticable as it is unnatural, would, if carried to its logical conclusion, relegate mankind to the order of ideas dominating the Monks of the Thebáid, who, separated from the world, rolled their black bread in the dust, lest they should find a sinful pleasure in its savour ! Or a Simon Stylites, to stand on the top of a pillar until birds are said to have roosted in his hair, and his joints



became fixed ;—or his worthy brother recluse of Chinese sanctity, Bo-di-dar-me, or “ wall-gazing ” Brahmin, who turned his face against the wall seven years, that he might the better resist or escape from all carnal solicitations to sin or pleasure. This chart of humanity seems to me to read a very different lesson, and a different moral. Mr. Lowell, the American Minister, recently quoted an old saying that “ there is a great deal of human nature in man,” and the animal wants and conditions of that nature have to be counted with, as well as the spiritual. Here, at all events, from Cathay to Peru, we see the constant development of a desire for a stimulant and narcotic of some kind ; and the lavish and ever bountiful provision made by nature to supply the want. Let us pass them in review. The poppy, the hemp, and the betel nut of a palm tree supply the chief narcotics and intoxicants of two-thirds of the globe, and the inhabitants of the two vast regions of Asia and the Eastern Archipelago. If we add the tobacco plant, the list is nearly complete. The betel nut, the seed of the areca palm, and betel pepper, one of the pepperworts (*pan*) ; either betel leaf or siri, with betel nut and lime, constitute the narcotic masculatory of the East, and is, perhaps, consumed by the human family as largely as tobacco. The intoxicating effect of betel, when chewed, is due probably, Dr. Birdwood tells us, in a work universally accepted as an authority, on the “ Economic Botany of India,” to the mutual reaction of the betel nut, betel leaf, lime and saliva. Happily the natives do not attempt, like the Kamsehatskans, to transfer this organic product, thus made, to other recipients in its complete state.

Small quantities of spirit are said to be secretly prepared by the Hakims or Wieds from rosebuds, jasmine flowers, orange-peel, fennel seeds, &c. The juice of the common sugar-cane is made in the West Indies and elsewhere to yield rum, an intense intoxicant. And here is an illustration in the *Illustrated London News* of a half-naked native of Madagascar busily engaged in distilling spirit ferment with the aid of an old gun-barrel and a tub of cold water. Who taught these savages the complicated chemical process by which from the sugar-yielding cane, a valuable and most common and nutritious ingredient in healthy food, a poison to steal away his brains is made ? Spirit and a kind of beer are intoxicants very largely consumed in Japan by fermentation and distillation from rice ; and also in China under the form of *Shamshoo*, a most potent and destructive spirituous liquor is in common use, especially in the northern provinces, where opium is less generally consumed than in the central and western provinces. If we pass from the pepperworts to the urticaceæ or nettleworts, we come to the common hemp, the bhang of Hindostan, cultivated in Europe for its fibre, but in Africa and Asia for the sake of its narcotic properties—another wonderful example of the instinct or faculty by which untutored and unscientific races—many without any tincture or leaven of civilisation, unredeemed savages to this day, in Africa, for instance—discover in the most harmless and seemingly unlikely natural products of the vegetable kingdom, not only a narcotic and intoxicating property, but the means of extracting it for their use or abuse. Buretts, Livingstone, Burton, and many other African explorers testify to the wide use of hemp as a narcotic in Africa. Civilised man has turned hemp to another, but scarcely less fatal, use in connection with the gallows ; an end to which the use of spirituous



liquors in Christian countries so constantly brings its victims. The flowers of the hemp-plant are used in Morocco under the name of kief, and the "Assassins," or followers of the "Old Man of the Mountains," are said to have derived their name from the use of haschish or hemptolis.

Perhaps there ought to be included the Sorghum or the larger millet, the product of which by fermentation is known as *Pombe* all over Central Africa and is the favourite beverage and intoxicant of all the savage tribes inhabiting that vast region. Burton says it is general throughout the country; all other intoxicating drinks such as plantain wine, toddy, and others being local. So universal is the vice of drunkenness among these savages, that we may comfort ourselves, whatever other sins may be laid to the charge of Europeans and their civilisation, that this vice cannot be counted as of foreign importation, for the natives had found in their own instinctive tendencies and indigenous plants the fullest means of indulging the vice of intemperance to such excess as to leave nothing to learn from Europeans in that direction.

If we cross the Ural mountains or the Mediterranean to Europe, we find fermented and alcoholic liquors reign supreme in conjunction with tobacco. These three are of such universal and habitual use that among the male part of the population the total abstainers must form a very small minority, while those who indulge in one or all of these to excess; I fear, must be numbered by millions. If, as is often alleged, alcohol, and the drunkenness arising from its abuse, is the bane and national vice of the British Isles, it cannot be said to be much less over all Northern Europe. Germany and the central populations are great consumers of beer and wine, and take their alcohol chiefly, perhaps, in that form; while the more southern portion of Europe—France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy—are wine-producing countries, and the produce of the grape is the chief stimulant of their respective populations, but it is much less abused. The Siberians in the north of Asia have their thorn-apple, from which they brew or distil their intoxicating liquors; and—such is the ingenuity of man; guided by a natural or a fatal instinct according to different opinion—the Kamschatkans have a fungus from which they brew a kind of ale. The *Amanita muscaria* is the fungus which is steeped in the juice of the *Vaccinium uliginosum*, a wortleberry, generally used as an intoxicant. The mode of preparation and administration for this purpose is of so revolting a kind, that it cannot be described in any mixed company.\*

Passing to the Western Continent, the very existence of which was unknown to us three or four centuries ago, the inhabitants of the Andes had the thorn apple and the coca leaf for solace; Central America its tobacco. But coca, the narcotic of the Andes, possesses two very remarkable properties not known to exist in any other substance—that of lessening, when chewed, the necessity for ordinary food, and not only enabling the chewer to put forth greater nervous energy for a short time, which opium does also, but with the same amount of food perseveringly to undergo more fatigue and long-continued labour. It also possesses another striking property, of preventing the difficulty of

\* See "Catalogue of the Economic Products of the Presidency of Bombay," compiled by Sir George Birdwood, 1862, p. 197.



respiration which is usually felt in ascending the long and steep slopes of the Cordilleras.

So we read that the Hurkarah, who carries letters and runs messages in India, provided with a small piece of opium, a bag of rice, and a lump of bread, will perform incredible journeys. So also the Tartar, many days and nights continuously on horseback, whose only food is a few dates, and a lump of bread, with a small supply of opium, accomplishes his journey. The Turkish legend stamped on opium lozenges, "Mash-Allah"—the gift of God—seems well justified by these effects; and even horses are sustained by its influence. The Cutchee horseman shares his store of opium with his flagging steed, which, we are told by Major Burnes, thus supported, travels an incredible stretch. These are a few, and a very few only, of a large range of facts too numerous to be disregarded, and too well authenticated to admit of doubt; all tending to show that from different plants, all over the world, active principles are to be obtained, however different in outward seeming, which are possessed of certain valuable and characteristic properties, capable of exercising on the human frame characteristic narcotic and stimulating influences; one of which, and perhaps the most remarkable and difficult to understand, is a power of retarding waste or change of matter in the living tissues, and at the same time increasing the activity of the nervous system, in a manner and degree which the strongest soups or most nutritious food in any form cannot effect.

What are the inferences to be drawn from these facts and experiences? Our time, I am sorry to say, will barely allow me to glance in the briefest space at some of the more significant and important.

It has been truly said that "the craving for such indulgence, and the habit of gratifying it, are little less universal than the desire for, and the practice of, consuming the necessary materials of our common food."

This craving and demand for some form of stimulants and narcotics is not only universal, but the supply is equal to the demand, and inexhaustible. It is furnished by more than fifty well-known sources in the vegetable kingdom.

This demand and supply, in which man and nature combine, points to a common want, *with a legitimate claim to be satisfied*; and, being so, no force that Government can bring to bear, by laws or compulsory measures, will ever avail to prevent production and consumption of this class of articles in some form or other, even if they could, which is doubtful, exclude any one, and determine the choice of the others. There is good reason to believe that many, if not all, of this class of narcotics and stimulants in various degrees, if not nutritious, in the sense in which food affords nutriment, are beneficial to great masses of the human race, by arresting waste and exhaustion of nervous energy, as a preventive of disease, and in many other ways too numerous to mention, when used in the moderation required in all things; and are not, therefore, to be prohibited as poisons. The great and most important conclusion to be drawn, therefore, from these facts is this—that a tendency which is so evidently part of our nature is not to be suppressed or extinguished by any form of statutory restraint, physical or fiscal. This has been tried in every form of compulsory and penal enactment, under the most despotic governments, with total and in-

variable failure for the result. We have heard a good deal of "force being no remedy;" and for this particular bias—vice or indulgence, however it may be characterised—force is not only no remedy, but hopelessly and absurdly inapplicable. We are told that "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin;" and the touch which binds the whole human race in one kindred here is of a narcotic and stimulant kind, however little it may be to the taste of a small minority of total abstainers, whose theory of life, I venture to think, is as much opposed to the teachings of Scripture and Christianity, as to the instincts of a common nature derived from the same Divine source.

That all these are capable of working serious mischief, demoralising and destroying those who become slaves to their use by a grievous abuse, is indisputable. But this is common to all, and not the exclusive property of anyone; and the tendency of each to lead consumers to this fatal state is to be tested by the observed effects over whole populations where its use is prevalent or universal, and not by the known effects on a minority who indulge to excess; and the percentage of which, where ascertainable, should decide the question. Tested by this rule, nothing has been shown to prove anything exceptional in the effects of opium on whole populations, to justify any course of legislation or compulsion of an entirely exceptional nature not applicable to all the other narcotics or stimulants in common use, and notably, alcoholic and fermented drinks, in this country, and over the whole of Europe.

Comparing, indeed, the effects of opium on whole populations, or nations, it can be demonstrated, by evidence of an indisputable kind and overwhelming force, that the spirituous and other intoxicating liquors in common use in this country alone, work more mischief, and bring more ruin—sin and crime of every dye—upon the population of this country, and with it, greater waste and impoverishment to the people, than all the opium, foreign and native, consumed in China up to this day.

The amount spent by the Chinese at this date\* for 100,000 piculs of Indian opium, the total annual importation, is £16,800,000, and for native-grown opium (assuming this to be in equal quantity, but at half cost), £8,400,000; making a total amount spent by them on this luxury, of £25,000,000 annually; this being the supply for 2,000,000 smokers—those who consume the native product (one-half of the number) spending about 5½d. a-piece daily; the others about twice that amount per head—say 10½d. The amount of native opium grown cannot be ascertained; but if we assume it to be ten times the quantity here given, still the proportion of opium consumers to the whole population of some 300,000,000 as the lowest estimate, would not amount to 4 per cent. And if we limit the calculation to those which can be supplied by all the Indian opium imported, the result would be only 3⅓ in every 1,000, or less than one-third of one per cent. of the whole population of China. There is no evidence of crime and violence as the result of this habit or vice, even among this small fraction; and of crime in minor degrees, such as stealing and fraud to provide the means of a vicious indulgence, this must be limited to the percentage of the smokers who indulge to excess—which a preponderance of evidence shows must be small.

\* See "Yellow Book on Opium," published by order of the Inspector-General of Customs, 1881.



Now, compare this with what we know from official statistics of the consumption, cost, and effects of intoxicating liquors in the British Isles. The great complaint of Chinese Statesmen has been that the importation of opium impoverishes the people. And, in one sense, of course, if money is spent in any luxury that can be dispensed with, it does impoverish those who cannot afford such indulgence. But, compared with this country, China is more happily placed, for its great national luxury only costs it £25,000,000, while it is estimated that the cost of strong drinks or intoxicating liquors of all kinds, to us, is not less than £142,000,000, which, divided among the whole population of some 35,000,000, would be about £4 10s. per head, while a capital of £300,000,000 is further estimated to be invested in their production and sale. The whole sum spent in China, on opium, so far as we can estimate the native produce, would, among the 300,000,000 of population, be only one penny per head. But the impoverishment due to either article is of far less importance than the effects in the production of crime and brutal violence of every kind, filling our prisons and feeding the gallows. Nothing has ever been said of opium that can equal the evil which has been written and spoken of strong drinks. Judges from the Bench, and preachers from the pulpit, vie with each other in denouncing this as a national vice, destroying both body and soul, and bringing widespread ruin on a vast population. The judges, who administer the law, lament their powerlessness to stop its terrible ravages. The clergy declare it to be the most formidable stumbling-block in the way of Christianity. We are told that nine-tenths of the 40,000 prisoners in our jails are there for crimes committed under the influence of drink; and, in a paper by Dr. Norman Kerr, read lately at the Social Science Congress, the annual mortality from drink is estimated at 128,000, while the number of habitual drunkards reaping this harvest of death and misery to all belonging to them, is put at 600,000. I do not vouch for the accuracy; I am only quoting the figures confidently put forward by the advocates of total abstinence. But in the way of official statistics, we have the best authority, that of the present Home Secretary. Speaking of crime and the connection of spirituous liquors with it in the British Isles, and reading from a Report of the Commissioners of Prisons, of July, 1881, he showed that the number of prisoners sentenced in the ordinary courts had been 149,074, and in previous years much larger. He also said he entirely agreed with Sir Wilfrid Lawson, that one of the greatest and most fertile sources of crime had been, and still was, indulgence in strong drinks. By far the the largest number of cases which resulted in murder "were crimes largely committed under the influence of drink. Those convicted of the offence of drunkenness and disorderly conduct in 1879, were 178,429, and in 1880, 172,259." I do not think anyone who has lived in China will believe that this number, or any number approaching it among opium smokers, are ever convicted of crime or disorderly conduct. They may, when slaves to the habit of smoking—such percentage of them as can rightly be classed with drunkards here—impoverish and ruin their families, as well as their own health; but no one ever heard of an opium smoker going home from his debauch and brutally assaulting his wife, kicking her to death, or murdering his children.

The advantage of such a comparison is so entirely on the side of opium and its smokers, that I do not wonder those who agitate for the suppression of the trade should object vehemently to any such comparison being instituted; not because they can deny a strong analogy and parity of reason, applicable in considering the practicability or expediency of compulsory laws and other Government measures to put an end to the consumption of opium, by cutting off the supply and rooting up the poppy wherever it grows; but on the alleged ground that no foreign nation has compelled England to let liquor in—whereas, we have had two opium wars with China, and are still forcing the trade upon them. As to the accuracy of both these statements, I need say no more on the evidence of the *bonâ-fide* desire of the Chinese to effect the total suppression of opium smoking. Of their desire to stop, or if not able to stop, to turn the importations of foreign opium to greater profit in a fiscal sense, I have, indeed, very little doubt. I am accused of having stated in my evidence in 1871, that I had no doubt of the Chinese ministers' sincerity when urging me to aid them in suppressing the trade. I might answer, as a Prime Minister answered, not so long ago, when twitted with an apparent variation of opinion before and after the Treaty of Berlin—"A great many things have happened since then." But, notwithstanding the open and official encouragement of the native culture by Imperial sanction; and license for taxing it, and the vast development it has taken in the twelve years' interval since I left Peking, and Li Hung-Chang's last change of front in proposing to farm or purchase the monopoly of all the Indian opium, I will simply say that neither now, nor when negotiating, did I see reason to doubt that they were in earnest in their desire to get the entire control of the opium trade, and more especially the Indian trade; but with what motive, or to what end, I was not so satisfied, and therefore I proposed to put them to the test, by suggesting a loyal and effective co-operation between the two Governments to restrict the area of cultivation in both countries as the only course likely to prove effectual—while increasing the duty on the Indian drug—leaving them free, as they have ever been, and are to this day, by treaty, to levy any duty they pleased upon its transit to the interior, and before it came into consumption. The whole object of Li Hung-Chang's latest negotiations with my successor, Sir Thomas Wade, has been to make more sure his first levy of this excise or transit duty, by being allowed to enforce its payment within the port, and before it passes into Chinese hands. I am also charged with having said in evidence that undoubtedly China was forced to admit opium. Quite true. But after the Treaty of Tientsin, they had of their own will placed opium on the tariff of articles that might be legally imported on payment of a fixed duty. From that date they were bound by treaty to admit it—and in that sense forced to admit it—but not otherwise than they were forced to admit every other article in the tariff. But this is a small matter. We are told that any argument derived from the greater evil inflicted by spirituous liquor than opium is wholly irrelevant, not only because the latter has been forced on China, but because opium is a poison, and has been so declared by Act of Parliament, and cannot be considered an article of food, or as ministering to health. Well, so has every kind of alcoholic and fermented liquor been declared to be a poison by quite as great an authority as an Act of Parliament.



Dr. Andrew Clarke, a physician of the greatest eminence in this metropolis, stated recently in a public lecture, "Alcohol is a poison; so is strychnine; so is arsenic; so is opium; it ranks with these agents." Here, you see, this great medical authority classes alcohol and opium in the same category. It is true he calls them all poisons; and so they are to all who do not know how to use them. But on alcohol, as the great destroyer, he lays the greatest stress. He says health is a "state, which in my experience is always in some way or other injured by alcohol." He adds, that in going the round of his hospital wards, one of the largest in London (St. Bartholomew's), seven out of every ten he found there owed their ill-health to alcohol. Sir William Gull gave evidence before the Lords' Committee, "that a very large number of people in society are dying day by day, poisoned by alcoholic drinks. I hardly know any more powerful source of disease than alcoholic drinks; I do not think it is known, but I know alcohol to be a most destructive poison. I should say, from my experience, that it is the most destructive agent that we are aware of in this country." Sir Henry Thompson, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, states as his conviction that "there is no greater cause of evil, moral and physical, in this country, than the use of alcoholic drinks; I do not mean by this, that extreme indulgence which produces drunkenness—the habitual use of them to an extent, far short of this, injures the body and lessens the mind's power to an extent which I think few people are aware of." And he gives, as the result of his observation during more than twenty years of his official life, devoted to hospital practice and to private practice and in every rank of it, that "a very large proportion of some of the most painful and dangerous diseases arise from the common and daily use of fermented alcoholic drinks, taken in the quantity which is ordinarily considered moderate." And the late Dr. Murchison speaks of "the brittle artery, the softened heart, the gouty kidney, and premature decay, which might never have occurred had it not been for the daily dose of alcohol, which induced an unnatural character of the tissues, and the circulation of an impure blood." Nothing worse has ever been said or imagined of the effects of opium; and these are all the opinions of men of large experience and of the highest authority in their profession.

I say, then, that we are irresistibly led to the inference that opium is the lesser evil of the two; and, if it could even be assumed to be as deleterious in its action on the individual as alcohol, it must be admitted to be infinitely less injurious, hateful, and dangerous to the community. I have lived the last twelve years in this great city of beer and spirit-drinking people, after more than twenty passed in the midst of dense populations of opium-smokers, and I can conscientiously aver that I see more degradation and brutality in a single day in the streets of London—more of violence and misery, with danger to all who come in contact with it—than I ever saw in twenty years of life in China; and I would rather live, so far as regards safety and freedom from outraged feelings for humanity, in a heathen population of opium-smokers, than in a Christian community, where drunkenness from alcoholic drinks is the prevailing vice among the mass and working classes. And if this evil be as great as all these authorities have described, and our own experience of daily life confirms it, yet no law or compulsory

legislation has been found available to stem the torrent of vicious indulgence in drink—with a Parliament that is well nigh omnipotent, so far as the making of laws is concerned—with power over a man's life, liberty and property—who is it that dreams of making a vast Empire like China, with its three or four hundred millions, and 12,000 miles distant in the far east, virtuous and self-denying in the use of narcotics or stimulants by compulsion and Imperial edicts?

It was the profound conviction based on a world's experience, as that chart describes it, and as the history of our own and every other country exemplifies, of the futility of all such attempts, and such as China has made during the last 100 years in its customary spasmodic and inconsequential way with all the autocratic power vested in its Emperor, and most corruptly administered by his high officers and officials of every grade, that determined me, as it determines me now, not to be a consenting party to the sacrifice of a most important part of the Indian revenue, without which all order, law, and Government, would be impossible over a population of 250,000,000 of subjects for whose well being we are directly responsible; and in addition the derangement of a vast commerce involving honest trade and vested interests of colossal proportions, not in India alone, but in China and the whole British Empire. And all for an ideal result as utterly impractical in its conception, as it was impossible of realisation under any conceivable circumstances. There was but one thing realisable and certain about it, and that was, that if, by any of the many possibilities in our representative and party Government, a vote could be in some form obtained, decreeing the abolition of the opium culture and trade in India, the sudden dislocation of all the administrative machinery and industrial activity of the Indian Empire would be the first and immediate result. Ruin, in one or many forms, to the whole fabric of our rule would speedily follow, without the slightest benefit to China or the Chinese, for whose welfare our philanthropists are so intensely anxious, while they can rest in peace under the dark shadow of sin and misery and crime at their own doors, unchecked and unheeded, proceeding from the demon drink. Opium is grown by the Chinese in the larger half of their own territory, and over an area vastly exceeding that employed in India, and will continue to be so whatever may be the course followed in supplying opium from our territories. And if it were conceivable that the Chinese supply should fail, under some new-born zeal and vigour of their own Government, the void would be filled from every opium-growing country—from Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Malwa; from Africa, where already, at Mozambique, the Portuguese have made a great concession to an opium company, and the culture is proceeding—from every tropic region, and carried under every flag but our own. The China seas must become, if all such trade were prohibited—what they were for a century before we performed the police of those regions for them at our own cost and peril—infested with pirates and smugglers, where no legitimate or honest trade could survive. Millions would suffer in such a region of violence and disorder, but not an ounce less of opium would reach the Chinese coasts, and not a single Chinaman would find that virtue which depends on relief from temptation and from self-denial, and the will to do right. The advocates for a suppression began at the wrong end, as I told the Chinese Minister in 1869



—they want to cut off the supply, and should find means to prevent the demand—not by compulsion, which always has failed, but by moral persuasion and education ; and with the cessation of the demand, the supply will cease of itself, without any effort of philanthropists or governments, and in no other way can the end they seek ever be compassed.

I have no fancy myself for tilting at windmills, but if there be any well-intentioned and philanthropic enthusiasts who have, I cannot but think they would do better to try their powers on those nearer home ; and there is one of colossal proportions ever ready for the assault at their own door, which I firmly believe works more destruction in a day in this land, than opium in a year amongst the millions of China.

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## DISCUSSION.

Mr. H. F. RICHARD, M.P., after disclaiming any authority for a paragraph which had appeared in the morning papers, that he had come there to state the case of those who advocated the abolition of the opium trade, said it was true that he had taken considerable interest in this subject for a great many years, and might be allowed to make a few observations on what he had heard. One preliminary remark he thought would be generally admitted to have some force, and that was, in attempting to form a sound and impartial judgment as to the character of this traffic, there was one disturbing element of a very serious kind, against which everyone must be on their guard. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the case, one thing could not be lost sight of, that it was an enormously profitable trade both to the Indian Government and, indirectly, to the British nation ; and when interests, whether personal or national, were deeply involved in any question, they had great power of throwing dust into the eyes of the reason, and numbing the sensitiveness of the conscience. He was surprised at the turn this controversy had taken in the last month or two, for until then, he thought there were certain things universally admitted ; in the first place, that opium, except as a medicine, was a poisonous and pernicious drug, and that the habitual use of it for the purpose of sensual gratification was a vicious and degrading habit. For that they had the opinion of some of the most distinguished medical men who had ever lived, and amongst them were Benjamin Brodie, Drs. Bright, Chambers, Fergusson, Holland, Hodgkin, and a number of others ; besides that, they had the authority of a large number of gentlemen who had been officials in India and China, as to the mischievous effect of this indulgence on the Chinese themselves. He could cite the opinion of such men as Sir Stamford Raffles, Sir George Staunton, Sir Charles Hall, Sir John Davis, Colonel James Starr, Captain Sheppard, Henry St. John Tucker, a former chairman of the East India Company, Sir Arthur Cotton, and a number of others, and he would give two or three sentences from the opinion of the last gentleman, perhaps the most distinguished of the whole. He said, after an experience of twenty-five years, “It is to me vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China, than as a habit many times more pernicious, nationally speaking,

than the gin and whisky drinking we deplore at home." They also had the testimony of medical gentlemen from China itself, who had been actually practising there, and who had been witnesses of the effects produced by opium—men like Drs. Parkhurst, Locker, Hobson, Dempster, Fletcher, Smith, and many others. Besides these, they had the opinion of Christian missionaries, who ought not to be lightly put aside ; they knew the effect this habit produced, especially in thwarting their attempts to commend to the Chinese the Christian religion. Sir Rutherford Alcock had quoted Dr. Medhurst, who, he said, was one of the most eminent missionaries in China, but he had with him the opinion of Dr. Medhurst on this matter, from which he would read two or three sentences. When he wrote them he had been twenty-two years in China. He said, "When the issue of this pernicious habit is not fatal, its tendencies are to weaken the strength, to undermine the constitution, while the time and property spent in its production constitutes so much detracted from the wealth and industry of the country, and tends to plunge into utter distress those weak and dependent members of society, who are already scarcely able to exist at all, in fact, every opium smoker may calculate on shortening his life ten years from the time he commences the practice ; one half of his physical energies are soon gone, one-third of his scanty earnings are absorbed ; calculating, therefore, the shortened life, the frequent disease, and the actual starvation, which are the result of opium smoking in China, I am able to assert that this pernicious drug annually destroys myriads of individuals." The great point of the reader of the paper seemed to be to call in question the assertion made by those agitating in this matter, that opium had been forced on the Chinese. He had always thought the evidence on that matter was overwhelming. What did the Chinese Commissioner engaged with Lord Elgin about the Tientsin treaty say ; there was a pressure of armed force, and a state of excitement and alarm, and a treaty had to be signed at once, without a moment's delay. Therefore the Commissioner had no alternative but to accept the conditions forced on him ; nor did Lord Elgin call in question that interpretation of the matter. He wrote himself that the concessions obtained in the treaty from the Chinese Government amounted to a restitution, and had been extorted from its fears. Still stronger, if possible, were the words of Sir Thomas Wade, writing in 1868 : "The concessions made to us have been, from first to last, extorted against the conscience of the nation, in defiance, that is to say, of the moral convictions of its educated men." Another very distinguished gentleman, who was for many years in a high position in China, said, "To keep as clear as possible of all foreign Governments is a very natural desire on the part of those who twice, within a single generation, had had objectionable treaties forced upon them at the point of the bayonet." Those were the words of Sir Rutherford Alcock ; and he must say that a great deal of what he knew about China, and the opinion he held as to the conduct of Englishmen in China, he had derived from the writings of Sir Rutherford Alcock. Before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1871, being asked whether the opium traffic had not been one great reason of weakening the Government, and introducing anarchy in China, Sir Rutherford Alcock answered, "They say so ; and I should think the very fact that they had been compelled by the superior force of



foreign Governments to admit it, against all the moral feeling and judgment of the nation, and against their own, as an article of commerce, must very much damage them in the estimation of the people first, as a sign of deplorable weakness, next, as a witness of want of courage to do what is necessary for the welfare of the nation." He gave some further answers to the same effect. Another great point made by the lecturer was to call in question the sincerity of the Chinese Government in its resistance to the introduction of the drug, but the evidence on that point also was very strong. His opinion on the matter, of course, was worth very little, but if nobody was to talk about this question except those who had been in China, they must all be dumb. What could they do, except take the testimony of those who had been to China, and he would give the testimony of one of those who were most honoured and respected. This gentleman met the Viceroy of India, in council, on the prospect of Indian finance, and the question of opium, and the objection made by the Chinese Government to its admission, came up, when these were his words : "He had no doubt that the abhorrence expressed by the Government of China for opium was genuine and deep seated, and he was also quite convinced that the Chinese Government would have been pleased to carry out its threat of developing the cultivation to any extent. On the other hand he believed that so strong was the popular feeling on the subject, that if Great Britain would give up the opium revenue, and suppress the cultivation in India, the Chinese Government would have no difficulty in suppressing it in China, except in the province of Yunnan, or where its authority was disputed. The same distinguished gentleman gave his testimony again, later on in 1871, before the Committee to which he had already referred. He was then asked if the Chinese Government did not derive a large revenue from Indian opium, and whether that did not lead them to encourage it. He answered—"They do derive a large revenue, and I estimate the amount they receive would not be less than about one and-a-half millions sterling. They have shown the greatest readiness to give up the whole revenue if they could only induce the British Government to co-operate with them in any way to put it down. My own conviction is firm, that whatever degree of honesty may be attributed to the officials and Central Government, there is that at work in their minds that they would not hesitate one moment—to-morrow if they could—to enter into any arrangement with the British Government, and say,—“Let our revenue go, we care nothing for it, what we want is to stop the consumption of opium, which we conceive is impoverishing the country, and demoralising and brutalising the people.” Those again were the words of Sir Rutherford Alcock. He maintained that the Government could put down the trade at any time they like, but what more could they have done than was done by Commissioner Lin, when he seized 20,000 chests, and destroyed them. The reader of the paper objected to call this war an opium war, but he did not ; he believed it was essentially an opium war. There were a lot of British smugglers who were trying to force this offensive drug on China, against the laws of the country ; and when they insisted upon it, and refused to deliver up the obnoxious article, they barricaded the factories, as they had a perfect right to do, until it was given up, and when given up it was destroyed. It might be asked, why since that time had they

not taken more vigorous measures? But they, doubtless, remembered that when on the occasion they protested against the introduction of the drug into their country, which led to a disastrous and sanguinary war, during which Canton was repeatedly taken, many towns and villages ravaged, 30,000 or 40,000 people slaughtered, three or four millions sterling extorted by way of the expenses of the war, besides six million dollars to compensate the opium smugglers for the opium which the Chinese had seized and destroyed, which he considered they had just as good a right to do as the English Government would have to seize a cargo of smuggled French brandy—when they found their arguments were answered by cannon balls, no one could wonder that they should avoid as much as possible any differences of opinion leading to such results. With regard to the question of the liquor traffic in this country and its evils, he did not see that that affected the argument in the least. It was condemned alike by magistrates, judges, ministers of religion, and medical men, but he did not see how its existence bore on the question before the meeting.

Mr. ROWLAND HAMILTON said he felt bound to come forward and speak on what was certainly the unpopular side of this question, because he thought he had something to say upon it, having been one of the mercantile community in China, though entirely dissociated with opium. It was more than twenty years since he was there, that was just about the troublous times, when Shanghai was beleaguered by the "Taeping" rebels, and under those exceptional circumstances he saw a good deal of the Chinese refugees in the settlement. Subsequently, at the beginning of 1861, he was one of the first expedition which proceeded into the interior of China, after the Treaty of Tientsin. He was in company with several others, one a gentleman of the missionary body, and several consuls and others, and they took every opportunity of seeing all they could see of the Chinese with whom they came in contact; and he would state as shortly as possible the conclusions at which he had arrived. In the first place he found that in all parts the Chinese generally did use opium. Nanking was in the occupation of the Taipings, and nothing could exceed the rigour of their denunciations of the opium traffic, but still they found there was one thing for which silver would be given, and that was opium. Then they went to a large provincial capital opposite Hankow, where they were received with great civility by the authorities, and, amongst other things, they were shown the cells where a large number of students assembled for the highest examinations, except those held at Peking; and in the course of conversation, they were told that the students remained there sometimes two or three days, having with them their books, provisions, and if they liked it, opium; it was mentioned as quite a matter of course. Notwithstanding all this, they found it was a term of reproach to say that any one was an "opium smoker," for that means in China exactly the same as it does in England, to say that "a man drank." If he were to say of any gentleman in that room that "he drank," he would be making a grave imputation against his character, and he should not be justified in saying so of anyone who used wine, as a large majority of sober people did. He was convinced that the cases of excess in the use of opium, were very much as they were in England in the case of alcohol, confined to the idle and the dissolute rich, and to those who were ill-fed,



ill-clad, ill-housed, and suffered from all the worst evils of poverty. He would not dwell further on this point, which would be fully investigated by those of medical skill, but would venture this remark, from practical experience both in India and China, that no authority in England who had not studied the use of these drugs in the country could possibly give an opinion upon them which would be valid as to their effects *there*. What he would rather speak of was the more social and political aspects of this trade. He personally had known two agents of the old East Indian Company, before the trade was opened, but they could not remember a time when the one thing for which the Chinese would bring their silver was opium. Again, in 1842, one well-known merchant acted on the opinion that neither the war nor any other obstruction would check the "effective" demand of the Chinese for this drug, and the result verified his views. They were sometimes apt to forget that in dealing with the Chinese they were dealing with a very old civilisation. They had cultivated literature, and were perfect masters in the art of diplomacy. No people were so fond of using high-flown aphorisms, which had not the slightest connection with what they actually did. On one occasion, coming down to Yangste with Mr. Parkes (now Sir H. Parkes), they stopped at a little Chinese city which had escaped the attack of the Taepings. He was not a Chinese scholar himself, but Mr. Parkes kindly kept him acquainted with the nature of the conversation as it went on. Point after point was given showing how hopeless the position of the rebels was, how the advance they had just made was unsupported, and how they must necessarily fail; what struck them most was the exceedingly sensible and practical way in which all this was brought forward, but this did not for one moment shake their conviction that no practical measures would be taken, or even attempted; and so it proved. He could not believe that those of the literati and others in Peking, whose official duty it was, as censors, to read lectures to the Government, were within the lines of the practical policy of the country. They might believe in their personal sincerity, but not that these literary essays had any effect on the practical policy or morality of the Chinese. When he first went to China, in 1858, the *de facto* governments in the provinces were the only authorities with which they could deal. For instance, he had certain Manchester goods coming to him, in Canton, which he wished to pay full duty upon, according to the treaty, 5 per cent., but he found the existing local governments had arranged with the Chinese "Hong" merchants for about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. No one accessible to us had power to receive more. The only thing he could do was to join with the large body of merchants, who lent all their influence in favour of starting an organised Custom-house under European influence, and it was this which had given the Imperial Government its revenue up to the full limits allowed by treaty. Those in Peking talked about what they would do in China, but it was notorious at that time that the Imperial Government was starved, and although it had the shadow of authority, and could issue edicts, had no practical power either to get revenue or to control the resources of any one of its eighteen provinces. He felt most distinctly that the only choice there now was, or ever had been, was between acknowledging the trade and keeping it within such rules as could be enforced, and leaving it open to all the evils of a cou-

traband trade. He should most earnestly depreciate the idea of our making the Chinese a *corpus vile*, on which to try an experiment in sumptuary legislation which never had succeeded and never would be likely to succeed in any civilised State, and this, too, in connection with a Government upon whose efficient practical support we could in no way rely. Such a course could only entail vast evils on the whole country of China. Let those who had reason to believe in the sincerity of Chinese reforms, and who wished to promote the cause of temperance, attempt to do what had been done in England, and meet the evil in the way in which they knew was the only way of attacking it here, by providing healthy homes, better employment and means of recreation, and bringing positive, not sentimental, morality to bear on the minds of the people.

The CHAIRMAN said he should be glad if the speakers would address themselves to the real point raised by Sir Rutherford Alcock's address, that admitting the evil of opium, assuming that we had by treaty enforced reception of opium upon China, whether the Chinese were in earnest in wishing to put it down, when this fact existed,—that over one half of China, not reached by the British opium trade, the cultivation of opium was openly carried on. Because the very able Secretary of the Embassy, Mr. Baber, who was well known in the Geographical Society, and who had lately travelled over the western provinces, stated that in one province alone, Yun-nan, there were over 1,000 square miles devoted to the cultivation of opium. What occurred to him, as one who had not gone much into this subject, but who was really anxious to be informed, was this, could they, with respect to any other people, think that they were in earnest in trying to prevent the admission of a drug, when they themselves permitted the open cultivation of it to such an enormous extent. It might be very difficult to put down smuggling, and he could understand to some extent the spasmodic attempts made by the Chinese, before the Treaty of Tientsin, to put down the illicit trade in opium. They allowed it to go on at times, and drew revenue from it, but at other times they endeavoured to suppress it. That was not the way to suppress a trade. Those efforts showed that from time to time conscience, or interest, or some other motive, induced them to assert the law; but what could they say as to their earnestness when they permitted this enormous cultivation. That was one point he should be glad to hear an argument upon, and the other point was this. It was said that, if the trade regulated by the Treaty of Tientsin were put an end to, other countries would rush in and supply the void, and that the smuggling carried on more or less openly before the treaty, would be practised not by one nation only, but by a dozen, and that the Chinese would be as helpless as they were before to prevent it; and that we should be, therefore, inflicting on our Indian fellow-subjects an enormous mischief, without any compensating advantage. Those were the two points on which he had not yet heard one word said, and he should be very glad if any gentleman connected with China or India, or with any trade, were able to enlighten the meeting on these two points.

Sir GEORGE BIRDWOOD said the only point with which he had concerned himself was whether opium was in the same category as alcohol or not. It might be admitted at once that opium was a most powerful



poison, and so was cobra poison, though when diluted in the form of human saliva, it was necessary for the digestion of food by man. I seemed to him that one vital question was whether opium and alcohol were really referable to the same category.

The CHAIRMAN said he did not think this was the vital question; the vital question was, whether China was in earnest in wishing to put down the opium trade. That mischief arose from it could not be doubted.

Sir GEORGE BIRDWOOD said when this matter was before the Committee of the Society he was requested to give some remarks on the subject he had mentioned, that being the only point on which he was qualified to speak, or on which, considering his official position, he ought to speak.

The CHAIRMAN said he was quite certain that a gentleman of the high position of Sir George Birdwood would confer a great benefit if he would raise the question of the use or abuse of opium as a separate subject. He would suppose this had happened in England—that some modified form of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill were adopted, and that every county in England had been led to adopt it; that that Bill, when it came into force, would actually put an end to the sale in every shape of spirituous liquors. The logical conclusion would be that the Government would then interfere to prevent the introduction of liquors and spirits, inasmuch as under its authority every portion of Great Britain had adopted an Act which suppressed the sale, and, therefore, the use of spirituous liquors, the Government would be forced to prevent their introduction into the country, as that could only lead to the evasion of the law. It seemed to him that under such circumstances they would not allow France for one moment to argue that alcohol in certain proportions was useful. It would be enough to say that this country had declared against it, and they would exercise the power of saying that what the people had declared to be mischievous should not be introduced. Therefore, it seemed to him it was quite idle to argue to what extent opium was injurious or not. If the Chinese Government had arrived at the conclusion that it was injurious to their people, they had a right to say so—at any rate, the same right that we should have to exclude spirituous liquors. But then came the question, was this a really sincere desire, or had the Chinese shown by their acts that they were really in earnest. There were plenty of words, but what were their acts; and then came the question, had they the power to prevent the introduction of it, as we should have to prevent the introduction of alcoholic liquors if the Legislature passed an Act prohibiting their use.

Sir GEORGE BIRDWOOD said, that if the discussion was to be limited to the commercial and political aspects of the opium question, he could take no part in it, as he was only prepared to defend the use of opium as a contra-stimulant. He might, however, be allowed, in reply to Mr. Richard, M.P., to quote from Sir Benjamin Brodie's "Psychological Studies," p. 248, the exact words of that illustrious physician in comparing opium with alcohol, viz. :—"The effect of opium when taken into the stomach is not to stimulate, but to soothe the nervous system. It may be otherwise in some instances, but these are rare exceptions to the general rule. The opium-eater is in a peaceful state, satisfied with

his own dreamy condition while under the influence of the drug. He is useless, but not mischievous. It is quite otherwise with alcoholic liquors."

Major MANN said he should not have ventured to address such a meeting, but the Chairman had asked for information on two points. First, was the Chinese Government sincere in its desire to stop the opium trade, and that question, though he did not pretend he could answer it entirely, he could answer with regard to one very large district of which he had been in charge, as far as the Customs were concerned, for five years. That district was not one of the eighteen provinces which Sir Rutherford Alcock had enumerated, but it was the district outside the Great Wall of China, called Manchuria, and therefore the figures he should give would be in addition to those of Sir Rutherford Alcock. That great district, which was larger than the province of Sz-Chuen, was, like it, according to Mr. Baber's statement, also covered with opium; from one end of those three provinces to the other, the opium plant—the poppy—was openly grown on every road-side, and very often within the cities. In parts which a few years ago had become wasted, owing to the drain of fighting men taken south to supply the Chinese armies, there were now, in consequence of opium-growing, an influx of agricultural population. All that was going on under the eyes of the Chinese Government.

The CHAIRMAN asked if opium were imported at all into that country.

Major MANN said it was, but not now. When he first went there in charge of the Customs, the opium trade was very large, and there were two British houses engaged in it, doing a large business, besides what was called the Opium Guild, but when he left it, after an interval of seven years, both those houses had been shut up, because there was no longer anything for them to do, the native opium trade having increased so enormously that their trade had left them. The Chinese Government recognised the trade, because they levied an inland duty on opium, and also levied a differential duty on land used for the cultivation of opium.

The CHAIRMAN asked if the Government could, if it wished, suppress the cultivation.

Major MANN said undoubtedly. The country was very thinly peopled, and they had a large garrison there in consequence of its proximity to Russia. He should be sorry if any one went away with the idea that he was not a friend to China or the Chinese Government; so far from it, he was called by his friends a Chinaman, because he spoke the language, and was very fond of Chinese people.

The CHAIRMAN asked if it were his opinion that the abolition of the opium traffic, as between India and China, was a condition precedent to putting down the cultivation of the opium plant in China.

Major MANN thought they could not stop the importation of the foreign drug.

The CHAIRMAN said—Supposing by treaty the English Government undertook to suppress the large importation of opium which now took place, would the government then in China take heart to suppress the cultivation of opium?

Major MANN said certainly not; on the contrary the cultivation



would be increased. It was to their interest to increase the opium trade, particularly on the frontier.

The CHAIRMAN said it might be to their interest, but against their moral conscientious opinion. What was Major Mann's explanation of the fact that the Chinese Government had, through its accredited organs, expressed the strongest desire to suppress this traffic?

Major MANN said he knew the Peking Government had done so at various times, but he did not believe they expressed the feeling of the nation.

The CHAIRMAN asked what was their object in putting this forward, if they were themselves cultivating it.

Major MANN said the Chinese were a literary people, very fond of writing, and these things sounded very well in essays, but nobody believed them. He did not think there was any other explanation.

The CHAIRMAN said there were a number of gentlemen present, of the highest medical reputation, who he had no doubt could give the most valuable information as to the effects of using opium, but he did not think that was really the point for discussion, which was the opium trade, and especially the two points he had already mentioned. If there was any gentleman present who wished to speak on either of those, he should be glad to hear him.

Mr. DAVID McLAREN (Edinburgh) said he had not been in China, but had given a great deal of attention to this subject, and was prepared with almost all the quotations Mr. Richard had given in answer to the statements of the reader of the paper; and he frankly confessed that if it had not been for the announcement who the speaker was, he should scarcely have imagined it was the same gentleman as the one cited by Mr. Richard. His Lordship had now raised the question of the sincerity of the Chinese Government, but he might be allowed to ask whether there was not a prior question, namely, whether the Chinese Government were sincere or not, was England entitled to force upon it any measure which, for whatever reason, they chose to oppose? Probably very many people in the room were not aware of the fact, that at that very moment the importation of opium into India was forbidden. The first article of the Indian Act was—"The importation of opium is hereby forbidden." What would they say of the Government of Persia or Turkey, if they occupied the same position towards England as regards power as England did to China, and were to say—"You are insincere in this proclamation; you are only doing it for the sake of your own revenue, and, therefore, you must admit opium from us?" The prior question was this—sincere or not—was England entitled to force it upon the Chinese? The Japanese refused it, and we had not forced it on Japan.

The CHAIRMAN said that on the occasion of the treaty of Tientsin, a vast number of other articles besides opium were admitted, which he understood the Chinese would gladly have excluded, and one result of the treaty was, that they were compelled to have commerce with us. The speaker had very properly raised the question, whether we were entitled to force Japan, China, or any other country to trade with us; but assuming we had the power, we certainly had exercised it, and then came the question—why was opium to be distinguished from cotton or anything else. Then it was said that opium was deleterious and cotton

was useful; but the answer to that was, China itself was now raising this deleterious drug and beating us in the market.

Mr. McLAREN said he did not think there was any analogy to be drawn from two such countries as England and France, to two countries like England and China. The condition of the Chinese Government was not at all to be compared with the condition of any other Government with whom we had diplomatic relations. Was it fair to the Chinese Government which has been weakened very much by our own wars, and is not able to enforce its own views? It was not so much the question of the sincerity of the Chinese Government, as its power to carry out its own decrees. Sir Rutherford Alcock had no doubt whatever of their sincerity, for he said there was that at work in their hearts and consciences which would make them disregard all questions of revenue.

The CHAIRMAN said he could not see how the growth of opium on so large a scale was consistent with those statements.

Mr. McLAREN said it was explained by the weakness of the Government; and the venality of its officers. With what grace could the Chinese prevent their own people growing poppies, if at the same time they received opium from India. Here is a governor, who has on the one side a native grower of poppy, and on the other, a foreign vendor of opium; how can he prohibit the former, while obliged to tolerate the latter? That is actually the case mentioned by Major Mann.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that in this country it was forbidden to grow tobacco, although it was imported from abroad.

Mr. McLAREN said if the English Government were to become as weak as the Chinese, the Excise officers would be amenable to bribes, and then tobacco would be grown.

Mr. DONALD MATHESON said his only claim to address the meeting was some experience he had had in former times in China, he having been there in 1839, and having been himself one of the prisoners in Canton when the opium was seized. From that time he had studied the subject a great deal, and some few years afterwards, in Hong Kong, he had inquired a good deal among the Chinese with regard to the effects of this trade. His firm belief was that if the Chinese people were polled, they would, by a large majority, denounce it. He had seen many men, brokers and others, who said they had commenced to smoke opium two or three years ago, and now they could not stop. It was a common saying there that when a man smoked opium, he was making his own coffin, and he could give instances which had come under his own observation of the deleterious effects which it had produced. In 1839 there was strong proof of the Chinese being in earnest, for they gave due warning, and executed in front of the factories some of those natives who had been detected in the trade.

The CHAIRMAN asked if Mr. Matheson thought public opinion would support the Chinese Government in suppressing not only the trade but the growth of the plant?

Mr. MATHESON said certainly.

The CHAIRMAN asked why did they allow it in that case?

Mr. MATHESON said there were eighteen provinces in China, amongst which, of course, there would be a great variety of opinion; those in the western provinces were different to those in the east.



The CHAIRMAN said he understood from Sir Rutherford Alcock that the western provinces did not receive opium from India, but that all they used they grew themselves. Why did the Chinese Government permit that part of the population which was uncontaminated by the trade with India to grow this plant for their own corruption and destruction ?

Mr. MATHESON said the great distance from the seat of power in Pekin was one reason, and another was, that the Government had great difficulty in keeping out foreign opium. Besides this, there were different policies in China, and different parties, just as there were Whigs and Tories here ; at one time the Ministers would increase the growth, in order to counteract the importation of the foreign drug, and at another time they would make violent efforts to put it down.

The CHAIRMAN said, suppose the English Government were to suppress absolutely the trade between India and China, was Mr. Matheson of opinion that a Government so weak would be able to prevent the admission of seven devils worse than the one which was cast out ?

Mr. MATHESON said he had thought of that a great deal, and he believed that if the Chinese had the support of England, it would make an immense difference in their action, and they were growing in naval and military power.

The CHAIRMAN asked what support England could give to put down smuggling ?

Mr. MATHESON said if we left them perfectly free to do as they liked with their own native opium, and would gradually decrease the production in India, on condition that they would do the same thing, he believed, from what he had heard from Chinese statesmen, that they would be thankful to carry out that policy.

The CHAIRMAN said that was the policy proposed by Sir Rutherford Alcock.

Mr. MATHESON said he advocated such a restriction of the growth as would raise the price in China to such a height that its use would be confined to the higher classes, and the lower classes would be weaned from it. As to other countries coming in, he thought it was utterly impossible. A few years ago it was thought to be folly to attempt to put down the slave trade on the West Coast of Africa, but now it was thoroughly put down there, and there was no reason to suppose that, if England were in earnest, it could not be put down on the East Coast of China. The only countries for the production of opium in any quantity were India and China. He did not think there was anything in the argument that we must follow nature because it produced these things ; the earth was under the curse for man's sin, and that might account for many of these things that were so deleterious, but as to which we have to exercise our sense of right or wrong.

Prof. LEONI LEVI suggested the discussion should be adjourned, as there were many points connected with it which had not been touched at all.

The CHAIRMAN thought it would be much better to raise those points substantively on another occasion, and not to mix up together in discussion a number of heterogeneous questions. On the whole, he thought the audience would rather thank him for directing the discussion to the points immediately raised by the paper, for if they had gone into all the

possible questions which might arise with respect to the use of opium, whether it was more or less injurious than alcohol, and so forth, it would have roamed over so large a field, that no one could have arrived at any sort of conclusion. He would therefore call upon Sir Rutherford Alcock to reply.

SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK said the meeting had already had its patience very much taxed, and he would not therefore detain it long. He wished, however, to correct one great misconception, because it affected the character of the English Government. It was still reiterated that they had forced the opium upon the Chinese. He begged them to bear in mind this distinct fact, that we had had three wars with China, first, in 1842, when we reduced them to perfect submission, and when it was in our power to dictate what terms we pleased. On that occasion there was no clause put into the treaty requiring them to admit opium; it was left to them to deal with it, as it would be left to England to deal with wine or brandy, if what Lord Aberdare had suggested should take place. The second treaty was that of Tientsin, when again the Chinese were reduced to submission without further power of resistance, and again there was not a line in the treaty with regard to the admission of opium; but months afterwards, when the Commissioners were settling the tariff, the Chinese Commissioners were asked, "What about opium?" and they said they would admit it upon a duty. It was their own act—it was not the act of the English Government. The treaty had been signed many months before this, and not a word said about opium, nor were they ever even pressed upon the subject.

The CHAIRMAN asked if the Commissioners had any impression that sooner or later opium would be forced upon them?

SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK said he did not know what their impression might be, but his impression was that they were quite conscious of their total inability to prevent smuggling, and therefore thought they had better take the revenue, which had since yielded them £700,000 a year. Then there was a third war, occasioned by their treacherously firing on the English Minister, and this time they were so completely prostrated that their capital was taken. They had been utterly defeated, their armies destroyed, and they had not the slightest power of further resistance, and a convention was then made; but did Lord Elgin say that they must admit opium? Not a word. On the contrary, they were left free to put a protective duty, or any tax they pleased upon its transit inland. He contended, therefore, that the British Government had not forced it on them in the sense now insisted upon. It was forced upon them by their own total incapability to keep their coast free from piracy and smugglers, so much so, that until England cleared the seas for them, no honest trade could thrive there. Mr. Richard had done him the honour to refer to what he had said upon previous occasions, and it was a fair matter of argument to attempt to put him in contradiction to himself; but he thought he could show that he had not contradicted himself. When pressed by the Committee of the House of Commons to say at that time if the Chinese were forced to receive our opium, he said, Certainly they were forced, because they were forced to carry out a treaty, of which the tariff formed a part by a subsequent arrangement, and they could not break the treaty without a risk of war; but that did not contradict anything he had said since. He said they



were forced then ; but they were not forced before they placed it on the tariff of duty paying articles.

Mr. McLAREN said Sir Rutherford Alcock's own words were, " We have forced the Chinese Government to enter into a treaty to allow their subjects to take opium."

Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK said certainly, under such circumstances, because it was placed on a tariff, and under regulations, which were, at a later date, mutually agreed upon, and made a part of a treaty ; but in that treaty, as signed at Tientsin, there was nothing said about opium, it was put in subsequently by their own act and by their Commissioners in the tariff, as a mode of getting out of the difficulty of smuggling, and collecting a duty. With reference to the other point, that at the Indian Council, and afterwards he urged, in support of a policy he recommended, that he had every reason to believe the Chinese were sincere—he might repeat what he had said in his paper, and answer as an English Prime Minister once answered, when twitted with a difference of opinion, before and after the Treaty of Berlin, that " A good many things have happened since then." In the first place, the whole of the western provinces had not then been covered with native opium. The Emperor had not issued an edict, sanctioning, on the request of Li-Hung-Chang, the issue of licenses to levy a regular duty upon it. They had not then, as had been since done, proposed to buy the monopoly of the whole of the Indian opium we produced, for resale and their own profit and advantage in China. Speaking of the sincerity of the Chinese, no doubt there was a public opinion in China which might be perfectly sincere, as there was in this country about alcoholic liquors, where, unfortunately, there was so much intemperance. No doubt there was a great body of public opinion which would support a Government in any possible means for diminishing the evil, but it did not follow that the Government would, therefore, be prepared to adopt any particular measure. As to their sincerity, there was, he believed, a certain amount of sincerity, but they were great writers of moral essays, and liked to pose as being a very moral people. He had quite information enough at that time (in 1869) of what was going on in the western provinces to know that they were growing opium largely, and, therefore, the proposal which he urged on the Indian and British Governments was—assuming that they were perfectly sincere, and that at all events there was a body of public opinion they wished to consult, and for this and other reasons earnestly desired to get some concession to aid them to obtain the control of the trade in opium into their own hands—that the Indian Government should at once say, we will not increase the area of cultivation if you, on your part, will diminish your cultivation until it gets to the same point ; and after that, we shall be prepared to consider the possibility, *pari passu*, of diminishing it. That was a test how far they had the will and the power to carry out what they said they were desirous of doing. The very fact that he made a proposition of that kind showed that whatever sincerity there might be in the background, he had his doubts as to their power or will to carry it out.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Rutherford Alcock, which was carried unanimously.

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APPENDIX.

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The same number of the "Journal of the Society of Arts" contains also the following article on the Opium Trade:—

Mr. JAMES CAIRD, C.B., F.R.S., has written a letter to "The Times," on the subject of Sir Rutherford Alcock's paper, in which the following passages occur:—

"The Indian growth, so long as it remains a Government monopoly, is strictly limited in its extent. If the Government gave up the control, the growth would at once rapidly extend, and the evil would become worse. Therefore, to produce the result desired, the Government must not only give up this source of revenue, but forbid its subjects from making the most profitable use of their land; and this for the moral advantage of the Chinese, who are the most astute and practical people on the face of the earth, and who would at once increase their home supply, though they might be obliged to content themselves with an inferior and probably more noxious quality.

"And at whose expense would this be done? Ten millions of revenue must be found from some other source in India. Every one who has examined the subject of Indian finance knows the manifold difficulties which present themselves against any proposition of that kind. And all hope of a reduction and final abolition of the salt tax must then be abandoned. Salt is indispensable to the daily food of the 250 millions of the Indian people. It is capable of unlimited production in India, and is so abundant in some quarters that by the river which falls into the Gulf of Cutch millions of tons are yearly washed away by the sea. The duty is ten times the cost of getting the salt, and with the duty it is then eighteen times the price of the article in Cheshire. The duty yields about seven millions. It falls equally on rich and poor, but with special hardship on the poorest. Reckoning it by the consumption of families, and estimating each at five persons—man and wife and three children—it is a tax equal to a fortnight's wages on the average of every head of a family of the working class in India, the 24th of a man's labour being thus appropriated of necessity by the Government. Surely we are bound, by every consideration of humanity and policy, to prefer the interests of our own people in India to an endeavour at their expense to improve the moral condition of the Chinese, who are very capable of taking care of themselves."

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## SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD'S SECOND LETTER TO "THE TIMES."

JANUARY 20, 1882.

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SIR,—As Lord Aberdare limited the discussion on Sir Rutherford Alcock's paper, read last Friday before the Society of Arts, to the political and commercial aspects of the opium controversy, I was not allowed to proceed with the remarks I had prepared on the conflict of opinion regarding the uses of the drug as an article of daily consumption. I was asked to submit my remarks on the subject to the society as a separate paper, for the purpose of promoting another discussion on opium. I am, however, very unequal to the fatigue of evening appearances, and would much rather give in *The Times* a summary of what I wished to say last Friday, if you will considerately afford me the space.

The vital question for Englishmen really is, are opium and alcohol in the same category as dietetical corroborants or not? If opium is naturally adapted for the daily use of the people who actually consume it, Englishmen will trouble themselves as little about supplying them with Indian opium as about forcing the purchase of Manchester goods wherever we have an opportunity. To me the whole weight of trustworthy evidence, and particularly of professional evidence, which probably is alone trustworthy evidence in such a matter, seems to be in favour of the use of such a contra-stimulant as opium by the inhabitants of tropical countries, more particularly by those who live in malarious regions and feed chiefly on a vegetable diet.

OPIUM EATING AND DRINKING.—I trace the outcry against opium entirely to the commercial jealousy of the Dutch in the last century of the trade which then began to spring up in this article between India and China. Sir Stamford Raffles's ("Java," vol. i., pp. 111-112) emphatic condemnation of opium is obviously but a reflection of the Dutch prejudice against it. Tod's ("Rajasth'an," vol. i., 553-554, and vol. ii., 578-584) opinion of the pernicious effects of opium on the Rajpoots is based simply on their inordinate indulgence in it. The really pertinent fact regarding the Rajpoots is that, although they are all from their youth upward literally saturated with opium, they are one of the finest, most truthful, and bravest peoples in the world. The same may be said of the Sikhs. The first words always addressed to a visitor among the Rajpoots are, "Take your opiate." A pledge ratified by "eating opium together," is maintained inviolable by them under all circumstances; and the invariable inscription on the seals with which they stamp all written contracts and other legal documents is "Take a draught of opium." I am informed of a well-known Rajpoot, a hale

old man of 70, which is equal to 80 years of age among us, who still makes nothing of riding out 40 miles in the early dawn of day, and riding back the same distance in the afternoon, yet all his life has been in the habit of taking daily about a fifth of a pound of opium. Tod and Raffles are the only eminent authorities, of whom I am aware, who condemn the eating and drinking of opium. Sir John Malcolm evidently did not condemn its use. In his "Memoir on Central India," he devotes several pages (45, 76, 359-360) to the cultivation and quantity of opium produced in Malwa and the estimate of the expenses and return of each *begah*; but he nowhere gives the slightest indication of disapproval of its growth and consumption. Dr. James Burnes ("Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Scinde, and a Sketch of the History of Cutch," pp. 230-233) gives the most convincing testimony of the comparative impunity with which opium is used in the latter country. John Crawford, in his "Dictionary of the Malay Archipelago," expresses a strong preference for the use of opium rather than of alcohol as an habitual stimulant. The most valuable evidence in its favour, however, will be found in Dr. W. C. B. Eatwell's "Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government on the System of Cultivating the Poppy and of preparing Opium in the Benares Opium Agency" (republished in the *Pharmaceutical Journal* for 1851-52), and Dr. Elijah Impey's official "Report on the Cultivation, Preparation, and Adulteration of Malwa Opium," Bombay, 1848. No one should attempt to discuss the question of the Government monopoly of opium in India who has not read and thoroughly mastered these two exhaustive reports.

Sir Robert Christison, in his great work on "Poisons," gives the abstracts of eleven cases, the general result of whose histories tends, in Pereira's formidable judgment, to throw a doubt on the popular opinion in England of the injurious effects of opium and its tendency to shorten human life. Pereira significantly adds, "It must be confessed that in several known cases of the habitual use of opium eating that have occurred in this country no ill-effects have been observable."

I have recently collected some remarkable evidence of the prevalence of opium eating in this country among the poor population about Tothill Street and in the East End of London which some day I may publish, and so far as I have gone it affords the strongest proof possible of the impunity with which opium may be indulged in, even by a flesh-eating people, and that it is conservative rather than destructive of their morality. One case is of an old woman of ninety, recently deceased, who to her last day earned her own living by manufacturing small wares in iron and tin. She began opium eating at seventeen, and during the last nine years of her praiseworthy existence, had been in the habit of eating daily 135 grains of opium. It should be noted that this was Turkey opium, and that the taking of Turkey opium, as by the opium eaters of Eastern Europe, or laudanum as in this country, or morphia as in America, is a different thing from eating or drinking Indian opium, which, in consequence of its comparative weakness in morphia, is never seen in Europe.

When you speak to the natives of India about the dangers of opium eating, they answer, "But if you take away our opium, what shall we do against fever?" The late Consul Margary states that in his last



journey to Bhamoo he used to take an opium pill daily to keep off fever. So early as Pliny (xix., 53) the febrifuge property of opium is recorded. But more than this, it is probably absolutely beneficial to the nutrition of a vegetarian population like that of India. Carnivorous animals have proportionately shorter intestines than graminivorous, while man, being by nature both carnivorous and graminivorous, has intestines of intermediate length between the extremes adapted to an exclusively animal and an exclusively vegetable diet. Under, however, the religious influence of Buddhism, the Hindoos have for at least 1,000 years adopted an exclusively vegetable diet, unsuited to the human constitution, and consequently after weaning they all suffer more or less from inordinate indigestion, which continues to the end of their lives, except among those of them who moderately indulge in the habitual use of opium. The explanation is that opium delays the process of digestion, and has, in fact, the effect of, as it were, artificially prolonging the human intestine, and thus promoting the more complete digestion and assimilation of vegetable food.

In India the Buddhists not only put down the eating of flesh, but the drinking of *soma* also, and, as I judge from what Tylor says on the subject ("Anthropology," pp. 268-270), introduced in the place of the latter, and other alcoholic intoxicants, the use of tea, which is a native of Assam, and carried the plant with their religion into China. This is an extremely interesting suggestion, well worth special investigation. In a similar way, the use of coffee was propagated everywhere with the religion of Mahomet, who, however, does not positively forbid the use of alcoholic stimulants, as is generally supposed (see Koran, chapters "The Cow," "The Table," and "The Bee"). These were first absolutely forbidden, I presume, by his Sunnite followers. The use of opium is immemorial in the East, and possibly suggested to the Buddhists their idea of *Nirvana*:—

"There is no joy like calm.  
Why should we always toil?"

Its use probably originated in India, where, judging from the elaborate and highly local character of the decoration of the opium pipes in use, I conclude that opium smoking has immemorially been practised among the tribes inhabiting the highlands between Assam and the Chinese frontier.

Your readers can judge for themselves from the authorities I have indicated; but the opinion I have come to from them and my own experience is that opium is used in Asia in a similar way to alcohol in Europe, and that, considering the natural craving and popular inclination for, and the ecclesiastical toleration of it, and its general beneficial effects, and the absence of any resulting evil, there is just as much justification for the habitual use of opium in moderation as for the moderate use of alcohol, and, indeed, far more.

Sir Benjamin Brodie is always quoted as the most distinguished professional opponent of the dietetical use of opium; but what are his words ("Psychological Enquiries," p. 248):—"The effect of opium when taken into the stomach is not to stimulate, but to soothe the nervous system. It may be otherwise in some instances, but these are rare exceptions to the general rule. The opium-eater is in a passive state,

satisfied with his own dreamy condition while under the influence of the drug. He is useless, but not mischievous. It is quite otherwise with alcoholic liquors."

OPIMUM SMOKING.—Opium smoking, which is the Chinese form of using the drug—for which the Indian Government is specially held responsible, is, to say the least in its favour, an infinitely milder indulgence. I hold it to be absolutely harmless. I do not place it simply in the same category with even tobacco smoking, for tobacco smoking may, in itself, if carried into excess, be injurious, particularly to young people under 25; but I mean that opium smoking in itself is as harmless as smoking willow bark or inhaling the smoke of a peat fire or vapour of boiling water. Opinions, of course, differ. Medhurst ("China") is the weightiest lay authority against it, and Marsden ("Sumatra," pp. 278-279) in its defence. Professor O'Shaughnessy ("Bengal Dispensary," pp. 180-181) admits that what is recorded against it applies only to the abuse of the practice. Dr. Oxley, quoted in Crawford's "Dictionary" (p. 313), Dr. Smith ("Lancet," Feb. 19, 1842, quoted at sufficient length by Pereira), Dr. Eatwell ("Pharmaceutical Journal," 1851-52, pp. 264-265), and Dr. Impey (in his Report on Malwa opium) all protest against the indiscriminate condemnation directed by prejudiced or malicious writers against it. I have not seen Surgeon-General Moore's recent paper on opium in the "Indian Medical Gazette," but I gather from a notice of it quoted from the "Calcutta Englishman" in the "Homeward Mail" of the 14th of November last, that it supplies a most exhaustive and able vindication of the perfect morality of the revenue derived by the Indian Government from the manufacture and sale of opium to the Chinese. He quotes from Dr. Ayres, "No China resident believes in the terrible frequency of the dull, sodden-witted, debilitated opium smoker met with in print;" and from Consul Lay:—"In China the spendthrift, the men of lewd habits, the drunkard, and a large assortment of bad characters, slide into the opium-smoker; hence the drug seems to be chargeable with all the vices of the country." Mr. Gregory, Her Majesty's Consul at Swatow, says Dr. Moore, never saw a single case of opium intoxication, though living for months and travelling for hundreds of miles among opium smokers. Dr. Moore directly confirms my own statement of the Chinese having been great drinkers of alcohol before they took to smoking opium. I find, also, in a remarkable collection of folk-lore ("Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio," by Herbert A. Giles), evidence in almost every chapter of the universal drinking habits of the Chinese before the introduction of opium among them, notwithstanding that the use of alcohol is opposed to the cardinal precepts of Buddhism.

What Dr. Moore says of the freedom of opium-smokers from bronchial and thoracic diseases is deserving of the deepest consideration. I find that, on the other hand, the Chinese converts to Christianity suffer greatly from consumption. The missionaries will not allow them to smoke, and, as they also forbid their marrying while young, after the wise custom, founded on an experience of thousands of years, of their country, they fall into those depraved, filthy habits of which consumption is everywhere the inexorable witness and scourge. When spitting of blood comes on the opium pipe is its sole alleviation.

The opium, as retailed to the smokers, is already diminished by various



admixtures in narcotic power, and is, apparently, still more so by its preparation in the form of pure "smokeable extract." Then the pill so prepared is placed in a flame, where it is instantly set ablaze. It blazes furiously, and its vapour is at the same instant inhaled into the throat and lungs in one inspiration.

But none of the active principles of opium are volatilizable! And if any one of your readers will get Indian opium, as retailed in the bazaars, and prepare pure *chandoo* from it, and smoke as many pills of it as he pleases, in the above manner, he will find that they will not produce the slightest effect on him, or any one else, one way or the other, beyond causing that pleasant and peaceful warmth throughout the body which comes of sitting over a peat fire on a chilly day, or inhaling the fragrant vapour from a bowl of whisky toddy as you stir the boiling water into it, or, for that, from the simple steam issuing from a jug of boiling water. I conclude myself that nothing passes from the deflagrating *chandoo* pill into the lungs but the volatile resinous constituents of opium. At least, if this be the fact, it explains the antiseptic and prophylactic action of opium-smoking in the pulmonary affections of the Chinese. I conclude (my chemistry is of 1850-54 and quite out of date) that the rarefied resinous vapour inhaled protects the surface of the bronchial passages and lungs from the outer air, and that, when consumption has once set in, this empyreumatic vapour has the effect of checking the suppuration. This might be tested at the Brompton Hospital. Only one inspiration is taken from each pill, and the residuum is then mixed up with such drugs as Indian hemp, tobacco, and nux vomica, and resold at a greatly reduced rate to the poorer smokers. It is really this *tye-chandoo*, or "refuse *chandoo*," that has given opium smoking so bad a name among superficial and untrained observers. But even in respect of it, considering the exhaustive incineration the pill undergoes in being smoked, I doubt whether anything but harmless smoke passes into the lungs. It is the general debauched habits of the lower outcast populations of the cities of China which are really responsible for their cachectic appearance, and not the accidental circumstance that some of them indulge in opium smoking.

As to the alleged special aphrodisiac properties of opium, I discredit them altogether. At all events, it must never be forgotten, as a factor which tends to confuse even expert observation that is not severely verified, of any such alleged effect, that throughout the East the great majority of the people are always deliberately plying themselves with aphrodisiacs or reputed aphrodisiacs. The whole system of Eastern medicine seems based on the idea of the aphrodisiac or anti-aphrodisiac properties of things. European medical men are pestered all their days in the East, from Morocco to Shanghai, by simple natives persistently supplicating them for some potent aphrodisiac of which it is believed they have the golden secret. I know a medical officer who, when serving in the Indian Navy, was followed from port to port, all up and down the Persian Gulf, by a picturesque old Arab Chief in quest of aphrodisiac pills, and nothing would content him but to have them, although they consisted only of pellets of bread crumbs rolled in magnesia. Every medical man who has practised in the East is familiar also with the phenomenon of the sudden wasting away, in body, mind,

and soul, of the healthiest and most beautiful and intellectual boys on their reaching the critical period of adolescence. At the other critical period, between 45 and 50, the best and strongest of good men also suddenly turn bad, and "go to the dogs" utterly. Opium has nothing to do with these sad catastrophes of daily occurrence; while I am convinced that some form of smoking might often prevent them. Those, indeed, who can believe that opium is injurious to the morality of the Chinese can have little idea of what morality means in Eastern Asia—much less immorality.

I need add no more. I do not seek to support any particular financial or commercial policy in India. I desire simply to instruct the consciences of my countrymen. I have been charged with having a private purpose to serve by the argument I have taken in this controversy. The views I hold on opium I first stated as a student in a discussion before the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. In a work I published before 1868 on the "Vegetable Products of Western India," which went through two editions, I maintained the same views, founded on facts gathered from every region of the globe. I might, therefore, be credited with now writing on the subject from strict conviction.

I hold opium smoking, in short, to be a strictly harmless indulgence, like any other smoking, and the essence of its pleasure to be, not in the opium itself so much as in the smoking it. If something else were put in the pipe instead of opium, that something else would gradually become just as popular as opium, although it might not incidentally prove so *bénéficial*. It was in this way that the Red Indians took to smoking willow bark in place of tobacco, which was too costly for them. It is in this way that one is often able to substitute harmless prescriptions for harmful philters among the nympholeptic sons of Ham and Turan. In China and the Indian Archipelago, and wherever else opium is smoked, we ought to endeavour to supply it as pure and cheap as possible. It makes milder smoking than tobacco, and is evidently beneficial in many ways; and we may rest assured that mankind, where it has once taken to it, will never give up smoking—either opium, tobacco, or some other such stuff, however silly it may look in the eyes of the "unco' guid." It is not really sillier than eating and drinking, or any other natural action, to look at; while it is undoubtedly one of the least alloyed of the pleasures of the senses, if, indeed, it may not be said to be almost a supersensuous pleasure; for it seems, in some way past searching out, to possess the true magic which spiritualises sense.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

*January 17, 1882.*

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# L'OPIUM.

EXTRAIT DE L'ŒUVRE ÉPUISÉE "L'ANGLETERRE, LA CHINE, ET  
L'INDE,"

PAR DON SINIBALDO DE MAS,

*Envoyé Extraordinaire et Ministre Plénipotentiaire de la Reine d'Espagne en Chine.*

PARIS, 1858.

L'opium a été incontestablement la cause de la guerre de 1840, dont celle qui a lieu présentement n'est qu'une conséquence; il a donc trop d'importance pour que nous n'en fassions pas l'objet d'un chapitre spécial. Je n'ai jamais, ni comme particulier, ni comme homme public, été intéressé dans ce commerce; car les vaisseaux espagnols (et ils sont peut-être les seuls dont on puisse en dire autant) n'ont jamais introduit en Chine une seule caisse d'opium. D'un autre côté, j'ai vu les Chinois à Calcutta, Singapour, Pinang, Malacca, Manille, puis dans diverses localités de la Chine, où je suis parvenu à parler la langue du pays de manière à pouvoir converser avec les habitants. Je crois donc connaître la matière et me trouver en position d'être regardé comme entièrement impartial.

On a beaucoup déclamé contre l'opium, le dénonçant comme un véritable poison, et on a trouvé par conséquent qu'il y avait iniquité à en faire un objet de commerce et de lucre. Il a été présenté à la reine Victoria un mémoire rédigé dans ce sens, signé par plusieurs missionnaires et appuyé par le comte de Chichester; on a vu à Londres un meeting de philanthropes antiopistes, qui ont aussi adressé une supplique conçue dans le même sens que celle des missionnaires, et présentée par le président du comité formé dans le but de faire cesser ce commerce. Ce président est le comte de Shaftesbury, dont j'examinerai tout à l'heure le mémoire. Enfin, dans le parlement, un certain nombre de députés et de lords se sont élevés contre l'opium. D'un autre côté, les commerçants chrétiens établis en Chine, quelques écrivains, tels que sir J. F. Davis, et d'autres personnes respectables\* ont soutenu que l'usage

\* Je ne puis admettre en aucune manière l'idée adoptée par un grand nombre de personnes que l'introduction de l'opium est pour la Chine une source de maux de tout genre et une cause de misère. Il ne m'a pas été possible personnellement de voir un seul cas de ces effets de désastre qu'on raconte, quoique je reconnaisse que lorsque l'abus est excessif il peut être extrêmement nuisible. Du reste, la même observation est applicable à toute autre jouissance portée à l'excès; mais, d'après ce que j'ai vu depuis que je suis arrivé en Chine, d'après les recherches que j'ai faites sur tous les points, enfin d'après ce qu'avouent les hauts mandarins eux-mêmes, je suis depuis longtemps convaincu que la démoralisation et la ruine que quelques personnes attribuent à l'opium sont, probablement par suite d'informations imparfaites, fort exagérées, et qu'elles n'équivalent pas à la centième partie des tristes et déplorables conséquences que l'on voit quotidiennement découler de l'usage excessif des liqueurs spiritueuses et d'autres stimulants largement et constamment consommés, tant en Angleterre qu'aux Indes. (Dépêche de sir H. Pottinger, gouverneur général et ministre plénipotentiaire de S. M. B. en Chine.)

de cette substance n'a pas plus d'inconvénients, en a même moins que celui des liqueurs spiritueuses. Je vais éclaircir la question avec impartialité et bonne foi. Dans l'Inde, dans la presque île de Malacca, à Java, aux Philippines, à Bornéo, à Soulou, les Chinois fument l'opium en toute liberté, et l'achètent à meilleur marché qu'à Canton ou à Chang-haï, pour ne point parler des villes situées à l'intérieur de l'empire et loin des côtes. Il est constant néanmoins que dans tous ces pays, malgré la rigueur du climat, les Chinois sont remarquablement sains et robustes, et que ce sont eux qui, comme cultivateurs, maçons, portefaix, etc., exécutent les travaux les plus pénibles. Ils jouissent d'une telle réputation d'excellents colons, qu'on a fait, depuis quelques années, de grands efforts pour transporter des individus de cette nation à Lima et à Cuba. Dans les colonies chinoises, la mortalité ne dépasse pas le chiffre ordinaire, et je dois déclarer qu'ayant connu un grand nombre de ces émigrants dans les diverses localités que je viens d'énumérer, je n'ai jamais ouï dire qu'aucun d'eux fût mort ou eût été gravement malade pour avoir fumé de l'opium. Ce ne fut qu'en arrivant en Chine que j'appris les funestes effets de ce narcotique, et que j'entendis qualifier de *poison* la vapeur qu'aspirent ceux qui le fument. Je dois ajouter que, dans aucune des diverses localités de la Chine que j'ai visitées, je n'ai eu connaissance d'un décès positivement produit par l'opium; et qu'ayant demandé à plusieurs indigènes dignes de foi s'il était vrai que cette habitude ait été jusqu'à occasionner la mort, ils m'ont répondu que ce qui peut arriver, c'est qu'un fumeur consommé, s'il vient à se voir privé d'opium, meure par suite de cette privation. Un Chinois me racontait comme ayant été témoin de ce fait, qu'un fumeur tombé dans la dernière indigence, ayant été trouvé sans connaissance et presque sans vie, une personne bienveillante lui avait introduit dans la bouche un peu de fumée d'opium, et cela avait suffi pour le ranimer peu à peu et le mettre en état de fumer lui-même une pipe, ce qui l'avait complètement rappelé à la vie. Je conviens que l'opium en lui-même est un toxique; mais quelles altérations le feu ne produit-il pas dans les substances qu'il consume! Or, pour fumer de l'opium, on en introduit un peu dans la petite cavité de la pipe; on l'allume au moyen d'un objet enflammé; il brûle avec une vive flamme, et c'est alors qu'il produit la fumée que l'on aspire. On parle beaucoup des effets qu'éprouve le fumeur; on prétend que l'opium produit chez lui une délicieuse ivresse, un doux sommeil, une vive surexcitation qui deviennent nécessaires à l'existence, et qu'on ne peut obtenir qu'en augmentant progressivement la dose journalière. Pour moi, j'ai souvent fumé de l'opium, et je n'ai éprouvé rien de semblable; un grand nombre d'Européens qui avaient fait la même épreuve m'ont assuré qu'elle avait eu pour eux les mêmes résultats que pour moi. J'ai eu chez moi quelques fumeurs, et non-seulement je leur ai donné de l'opium à discrétion, mais encore j'ai recouru quelquefois à la ruse pour les amener à en user avec excès; et aussitôt après, leur ayant parlé d'affaires sérieuses, ils m'ont répondu avec autant de lucidité qu'ils auraient pu le faire avant de fumer. Si quelque membre du comité chinophile antiopiste de Londres doute de ce que j'avance, il peut répéter lui-même mes expériences; car il ne lui sera pas bien difficile de se procurer, s'il le désire, une pipe chinoise et les autres objets nécessaires pour cela. L'effet que produit l'opium ressemble assez à celui du tabac, avec cette diffé-



rence que la fumée de l'opium a plus de parfum, et que dès la première fois il ne déplaît pas ; c'est du moins ce qui m'est arrivé, tandis que la première et même la seconde fois que je fumai du tabac il me répugna, me donna mal au cœur, me déranger l'estomac et me rendit malade toute la journée ; aujourd'hui même je ne pourrais fumer un cigare sans en être incommodé, bien que j'aie souvent été obligé de fumer en Turquie et dans d'autres contrées de l'Orient. Toutefois, je le répète, la fumée de l'opium n'a nullement produit sur moi une impression délicate, et un fait qui s'accorde parfaitement avec ma propre expérience, c'est que les étrangers qui, faisant le commerce de l'opium, ont continuellement cette substance sous la main, n'en usent point ; bien qu'ils l'aient tous plus ou moins essayée, ils préfèrent le cigare. Mais celui qui en a contracté l'habitude se passionne pour cet usage, comme cela arrive à certains buveurs pour la bière et le genièvre, à l'Indien pour le bétel, et au priseur pour le râpé. Ces choses-là pourtant sont toutes fort désagréables pour celui qui n'y est point accoutumé ; mais une fois l'habitude contractée, non-seulement elles plaisent, elles deviennent encore une nécessité. Parmi un grand nombre de faits que je pourrais citer pour démontrer la puissance de l'habitude sur le palais, je me bornerai à un seul dont j'ai été témoin. Il est si singulier que bien des personnes peut-être croiront qu'il y a exagération, ou même que c'est une pure invention ; j'affirme cependant que rien n'est plus exact. Lorsque j'allai visiter les ruines de Palmyre, on me prévint que je devais emporter avec moi une provision d'eau suffisante pour le voyage d'aller et de retour et pour le temps que je passerais à Palmyre, l'eau qui s'y trouve n'étant point potable. En effet, il n'y a dans ce site célèbre qu'un tout petit ruisseau appelé *kibrid* (soufre), dont l'eau est salée et sulfureuse. Il serait difficile d'imaginer quelque chose de plus détestable, pourtant les Bédouins fixés en cet endroit se sont accoutumés à cette eau, et s'en trouvent bien. De retour du désert, j'allai à Homs, ville de Syrie bâtie sur les bords de l'Oronte, dont l'eau est limpide et délicieuse. Je voyageais avec une caravane de deux cents Arabes venant de Palmyre. Comme ils arrivaient fatigués et altérés, plusieurs d'entre eux se mirent à se laver et à boire ; mais dès que l'ardeur de la soif fut calmée, on les voyait rejeter, avec l'expression du dégoût, l'eau qui leur restait dans la bouche, et s'essuyer les lèvres avec la main en s'écriant : *Battal !* c'est-à-dire : " Qu'elle est mauvaise ! " .

Ainsi, les Chinois fumeurs d'opium sont passionnés pour cet usage, à cause surtout de la force de l'habitude, et il leur en coûte infiniment d'y renoncer, quoiqu'ils reconnaissent que cela leur serait avantageux ; comme il en coûte à un Européen de renoncer à l'usage du cigare ou à celui du vin, lorsqu'il en a l'habitude. Tant qu'ils fument modérément il n'en résulte pour eux aucun inconvénient ; mais s'ils le font avec excès, ils perdent l'appétit, leur teint devient terne, et quelques-uns maigrissent à tel point qu'on les prendrait pour des squelettes ambulants. J'ai eu chez moi pendant trois ans un individu qui, sous ce rapport, était un véritable type. C'était un lettré de Pékin, qui enseignait le chinois à deux jeunes Espagnols attachés à ma légation. Tous ses moments de loisir il les employait à fumer. Quand je fis sa connaissance, en 1848, il avait environ cinquante ans : j'ai tout lieu de croire qu'il vit encore, et qu'il continue à donner chaque jour sa leçon.

A le voir on eût dit qu'il était parvenu au dernier degré de la phthisie, et pourtant je n'ai pas souvenir qu'un seul jour il soit resté dans sa chambre pour cause d'indisposition. C'était l'homme le plus calme de toute la maison ; il passait les journées entières avec sa pipe et avec un petit chien de Manille, qu'il avait pris en grande affection.

Ce qui d'ordinaire arrive de plus fâcheux aux fumeurs immodérés, c'est qu'ils perdent l'activité et le goût du travail, résultat auquel contribue la position horizontale que l'on prend pour mieux savourer la fumée de l'opium. On en voit qui abandonnent leurs affaires au point de finir par se ruiner, et il est certain qu'alors les familles victimes de ce vice maudissent et l'opium et les étrangers qui l'apportent en Chine.

L'idée que la fumée de l'opium est vénéneuse, et que l'usage de l'aspirer est la cause d'une infinité de maux, a été mise en avant par le gouvernement chinois et par des missionnaires protestants, principalement américains. Il y a sur les côtes de Chine de soixante-dix à quatre-vingts de ces missionnaires, avec leurs familles, et comme en fait de conversion ils obtiennent peu de chose on plutôt rien du tout, ils se font l'illusion de croire que leur insuccès tient à la contrebande de l'opium. Voici comment s'expriment quelques missionnaires anglais dans une pétition à la reine Victoria :

“C'est un motif de chagrin profond pour les sujets de Votre Majesté dont les efforts et l'énergie ont été consacrés à la diffusion des lumières du christianisme parmi ce peuple entouré de ténèbres, motif de chagrin qui, nous n'en pouvons douter, fera vibrer une corde sympathique dans le cœur de Votre Majesté aussi bien que dans celui des peuples chrétiens placés sous son sceptre, que tous les efforts faits par les fidèles sujets de Votre Majesté pour atteindre ce but de prosélytisme soient terriblement contrariés par l'existence et la continuation de ce trafic antichrétien. En effet : “Comment pourrions-nous, disent naturellement les Chinois, être favorablement impressionnés par ce que vous nous dites de votre désir d'éclairer notre esprit ou d'améliorer notre condition tant temporelle qu'éternelle, lorsque nous avons en même temps devant les yeux des preuves si palpables des efforts que vous faites pour nous perdre tout à la fois en corps et en âme ? ”

Nous voilà donc bien et dûment avertis que si la Chine ne se fait pas chrétienne, c'est parce que les Européens cultivent et vendent de l'opium. Je serais toutefois bien aise que ces bons missionnaires nous eussent fait savoir de quel mot de leur langue les Chinois dont ils parlent se sont servis pour désigner l'âme, et comment ces indigènes non chrétiens ont conçu cette idée de *perdre l'âme par l'opium*.

Le gouvernement chinois commença à se plaindre du commerce de l'opium et songea à le prohiber lorsqu'il vit que les métaux précieux sortaient de la Chine. A d'autres époques, l'empire avait reçu par le moyen du commerce des sommes considérables ; mais la balance commerciale commença à lui être défavorable juste au moment où l'importation de l'opium acquit de l'importance.

L'habitude de fumer l'opium fut communiquée aux Chinois par un peuple voisin, les habitants du royaume d'Asam, chez qui cet usage existait depuis un temps immémorial. Ce furent d'abord les Portugais de Macao qui leur fournirent cet article. On ne sait pas précisément à quelle époque cette colonie commença à l'importer ; mais il est constant qu'en 1767 la consommation annuelle s'élevait déjà à 1,000 caisses. La



caisse de Malwa contient 140 livres anglaises, et celle de Patna ou de Bénarès de 152 à 157. Lorsque l'opium a reçu la préparation qui est nécessaire pour le mettre en état d'être fumé, son poids se trouve réduit de moitié. Cette branche de commerce exploitée par les Portugais ayant attiré l'attention de la Compagnie anglaise des Indes, celle-ci envoya pour la première fois, en 1773, à la côte de Chine une partie d'opium. Nous devons donc constater, pour l'honneur de la vérité et de la justice, que lorsque les Anglais commencèrent à apporter de l'opium aux Chinois, il y avait quarante et même cinquante ans que ceux-ci avaient, spontanément et à l'exemple d'autres peuples d'Asie, contracté l'habitude de le fumer. En 1800, la consommation avait atteint le chiffre de 5,000 caisses ; alors l'empereur rendit un édit par lequel il défendait l'introduction de l'opium, disant que c'était une occasion de perte de temps, et que ses sujets échangeaient leur argent et leurs biens contre la *vile ordure* des étrangers. Cela semble indiquer que déjà à cette époque on avait commencé à exporter de l'argent, au moins pour l'Inde. Cette prohibition resta sans effet, et ne servit qu'à procurer aux mandarins des présents. Ce ne fut qu'en 1820 que la chose devint sérieuse. A cette époque la consommation avait augmenté, et le prix s'était élevé ; il monta encore, et en 1882 la caisse valait environ 1800 piastres. Du reste, malgré tout ce qu'on put faire, la contrebande de l'opium, grâce à la corruption des mandarins, continua et alla croissant. L'entrepôt était Macao, où la douane portugaise admettait cette denrée moyennant un droit ; mais elle voulut porter ce droit à un chiffre si élevé que les spéculateurs qui s'occupaient de ce trafic prirent le parti de s'établir avec des vaisseaux fixes auprès de l'îlot de Lintin, et ils continuèrent de la sorte jusqu'en 1839, où cette affaire commença à préoccuper vivement la cour. (Voir la fin.)

La rareté toujours croissante de l'argent amena une grande dépréciation dans la valeur de toutes choses, spécialement des terres et de leurs productions, et comme le principal revenu de l'État consiste dans l'impôt territorial les recettes du trésor diminuèrent notablement, tandis que les appointements des employés et les autres dépenses se maintenaient sur l'ancien pied, ce qui occasionna un déficit considérable. Le gouvernement ne tarda pas à reconnaître dans l'usage de l'opium une cause d'appauvrissement pour le pays ; c'est ce qu'indique déjà le décret de prohibition de l'an 1800, et bien que les décrets et édits postérieurs attribuent à l'opium des effets vénéneux et mettent en avant la sollicitude du gouvernement pour la santé publique, ils laissent apercevoir assez clairement le véritable motif, qui est d'empêcher l'exportation de l'argent ; exportation qui, en effet, a produit de très-fâcheux résultats. Il est incontestable que la Chine a perdu de l'argent depuis le commencement du siècle jusqu'en 1854. On sait que pendant nombre d'années l'exportation n'est pas descendue au-dessous du chiffre de 15,000,000 de piastres. En prenant seulement la moitié de ce chiffre, nous trouverons pour cinquante-quatre ans l'énorme total de 400,000,000 de piastres, c'est-à-dire plus de 12,000 tonnes d'argent. En 1844, un négociant indigène, âgé de plus de soixante ans, me disait que lorsqu'il était encore enfant une piastre espagnole s'échangeait contre 600 sapèques (monnaie de cuivre, la seule monnaie que l'on frappe en Chine) or, à l'époque où nous étions alors, on en donnait 1,300 et même davantage. Je lui demandai d'où provenait ce changement.—De ce que,

me répondit-il, l'argent est plus cher aujourd'hui qu'alors.—Et pourquoi est-il plus cher ?—Parce qu'il y en a moins.—Et pourquoi y en a-t-il moins ?—Parce que vous l'emportez.

Il faut remarquer qu'on a retiré de la Chine non-seulement de l'argent, mais aussi une grande quantité de monnaie de cuivre, qui a cours à Soulou, Bali, Tong-king, etc. J'ai vu envoyer dans ces différents endroits des chargements entiers de sapèques, surtout lorsqu'il entre en Chine beaucoup de riz de ces provenances. Si l'on n'eût exporté, en même temps que de l'argent, beaucoup de cuivre monnayé, la piastre espagnole aurait certainement fini par valoir 2,000 sapèques et davantage.

L'opium étant devenu pour la Chine une véritable calamité, plusieurs étrangers, hommes de cœur, se sont élevés contre le commerce et même contre la culture de cette substance ; mais quelques-uns ont montré dans leurs opinions beaucoup d'exagération et de violence, répétant souvent tout ce qu'ils avaient entendu dire, sans prendre la peine d'étudier eux-même la matière. Le plus remarquable de ces adversaires de l'opium est le comte de Shaftesbury, président d'un comité organisé à Londres pour anéantir ce commerce. Je n'ai certes pas le moindre doute sur les bonnes intentions et l'excellent cœur du noble lord. Il y a de la grandeur, de la générosité à combattre, pour le bien-être d'une nation étrangère et éloignée, contre les intérêts de ses propres compatriotes et de sa propre patrie. J'admire sincèrement les hommes de cette trempe et le pays qui les produit ; mais je regrette que le comte de Shaftesbury n'ait pas agi avec plus de maturité, et qu'avant d'intervenir dans cette question il ne l'ait pas étudiée ; je regrette surtout qu'il n'ait pas employé un langage plus modéré et de meilleure compagnie. Il se serait épargné le tort de publier un écrit que déparent des fautes grossières de statistique, dont quelques-unes choquent le sens commun ; et d'injurier gratuitement bien des personnes qui ne le méritent pas.

Il avance dans son exposé au gouvernement de la reine que l'opium tue annuellement en Chine deux millions de fumeurs. Comment le noble comte a-t-il pu parvenir à se persuader qu'il y ait chaque année *deux millions* de créatures humaines qui se *tuent volontairement*, sans être poussées par le désespoir, ni par aucune des causes qui mènent au suicide ; deux millions de personnes adultes qui, au contraire, se tuent pour jouir d'un plaisir ? Comment Sa Seigneurie n'a-t-elle pas été frappée de ce que présente d'absurde cette antithèse *plaisir et mort* ? Aurait-il cru qu'en Chine la nature humaine est tout autre qu'en Europe ? Est-il permis en bonne logique de jeter au public des assertions aussi étranges, sans avoir la moindre donnée, la moindre preuve à l'appui ?

Si nous en venons aux accusations formulées contre les marchands et les producteurs d'opium, nous ne trouverons ni plus d'exactitude ni plus de justice. C'est une erreur de croire que les Anglais seuls font le trafic de l'opium ; car tous les étrangers indistinctement, et spécialement les Américains, l'introduisent et le vendent.

C'est encore une erreur de regarder le commerce de l'opium comme une infraction au traité de Nankin. Ce traité ne fait pas la moindre mention de l'opium, qui n'est pas non plus compris dans le tarif, d'où l'on doit conclure qu'il fait partie des articles non spécifiés, qui sont tenus de payer un droit d'entrée de cinq pour cent. Cela est si vrai que dans le principe quelques commerçants voulurent le présenter à la douane, réclamant son introduction moyennant le droit sus-mentionné de



cinq pour cent. Les vaisseaux portant de l'opium n'entrent point dans les ports et ne sont point contrôlés par les consuls ; mais ils stationnent aux embouchures des rivières des cinq ports ouverts au commerce, ou sur d'autres points de la côte, où les mandarins les tolèrent moyennant des gratifications.

C'est une autre erreur de croire que si le gouvernement britannique défendait aux vaisseaux anglais d'apporter de l'opium en Chine, l'importation de cette substance cesserait ; en effet, elle serait importée par les vaisseaux des autres nations. Cela est d'autant plus évident que les premiers introducteurs de l'opium, comme je l'ai déjà dit, furent les Portugais, et que les sujets de la Grande-Bretagne ne firent que profiter d'un commerce lucratif qui était déjà inauguré depuis longtemps.

C'est une autre erreur de croire que si aucun vaisseau étranger n'apportait de l'opium en Chine, l'usage de cette substance cesserait. En effet, les jonques connaissent fort bien la route de l'Inde, et si elles ne vont pas maintenant y chercher l'opium, c'est que les Chinois trouvent plus d'avantage à le recevoir par l'intermédiaire des clipper anglais.

C'est une autre erreur de croire que si la Compagnie des Indes interdisait la culture de l'opium dans ses domaines, cette substance disparaîtrait. Le pavot croît très-bien depuis la ligne jusqu'à une latitude de 30 à 40 degrés, et il produit beaucoup à Java, aux Philippines, à Borneo, en Egypte, etc., et jusque dans la Chine elle-même, où depuis plusieurs années on en récolte quelques milliers de caisses. Peut-être l'opium de Java, par exemple, aurait-il un goût différent de celui de Malwa ou de Bénarès et paraîtrait-il d'abord de qualité moins parfaite ; mais le consommateur ne tarderait pas à s'y accoutumer, et sans doute finirait-il par le préférer. Celui qui est accoutumé à fumer des cigares de la Havane trouve mauvais ceux de Manille, et celui qui fume habituellement des cigares de Manille n'aime point ceux de la Havane. Actuellement on ne cultive point l'opium dans d'autres pays, parce que celui de l'Inde revient à très-bon marché. Aux Philippines cette culture a été prohibée parce qu'on a craint, ainsi que je l'ai déjà dit, que les naturels ne s'accoutument à le fumer, et par suite ne deviennent plus paresseux encore qu'ils ne le sont. Je crois qu'en cela on se trompe, car la paresse chez les naturels des Philippines provient de ce qu'ils n'ont pas de besoins ; s'ils se créaient celui de fumer de l'opium, ils seraient obligés de travailler pour se procurer de quoi en acheter.

Enfin c'est une autre erreur de croire que les mandarins ont fort à cœur d'empêcher l'introduction de l'opium. Plusieurs le fument ; la plupart, sinon absolument tous, reçoivent des présents pour en tolérer la contrebande. Si l'on excepte le fameux Lin-tsi-su et un petit nombre qui résident à la cour, je crois que tous les autres, peut-être Ki-ying lui-même, ont participé aux bénéfices de ce trafic illégitime. Sir J.-F. Davis, lorsqu'il était en Chine comme ministre plénipotentiaire, lui dénonça plusieurs fois les abus de la contrebande, favorisée par des officiers corrompus.

Quel est donc en définitive le reproche qu'on adresse à la Compagnie des Indes ? Qu'elle autorise ou qu'elle encourage la culture de l'opium, dont elle retire un produit net d'au moins trois millions de livres sterling ? On veut donc qu'elle interdise cette culture pour en laisser le bénéfice à d'autres pays, et qu'elle fasse payer aux habitants de l'Inde les trois millions que lui donne maintenant l'opium ? Moi qui ai visité

l'Inde, tant supérieure qu'inférieure, et qui crois la connaître un peu, je suis convaincu que cette colonie est déjà trop surchargée, et que lui imposer une nouvelle contribution capable de produire trois millions de livres, serait une affaire d'une extrême gravité. Et en faveur de qui ferait-on ce sacrifice ? En faveur des fumeurs de la Chine ? Non certainement, car ils n'en fumeraient pas moins. Ce sacrifice n'aurait d'autre résultat que de favoriser les pays qui entreprendraient la culture de l'opium pour approvisionner le marché de la Chine.

Qu'a-t-on à reprocher aux commerçants ? Ne sont-ce pas les Chinois qui demandent l'opium et qui l'achètent volontairement, quoique aucun étranger ne les excite par son exemple à en faire usage ? Ne sont-ce pas les Chinois qui vont chercher l'opium en dehors des ports, à bord des *receiving-ships* ? La nation chinoise serait-elle composée d'enfants et de sauvages ne sachant pas ce qu'ils font ? Prétendrait-on, par hasard, que la reine d'Angleterre entreprît de corriger ses habitudes ou, si l'on veut, ses vices, et même de réformer son administration des douanes en faisant la police sur ses côtes ? Et de quel droit le gouvernement anglais ou tout autre pourrait-il prendre de semblables mesures ? Si ce n'est pas là ce qu'on demande, que veut-on donc ? Contre quoi ou contre qui déclame-t-on ?

On dit que les *receiving-ships* sont mouillés aux embouchures des fleuves, que les consuls le savent et le voient, et que les vaisseaux de guerre viennent jeter l'ancre à leur côté. Tout cela est certain ; les consuls ne l'ignorent pas et ne prétendent pas l'ignorer ; ils envoient même souvent leurs dépêches à Hong-kong par l'intermédiaire des clip-pers à opium. En maintes occasions, ils se sont expliqués avec les gouverneurs chinois au sujet des *receiving-ships*, ils leur ont dit : " Je ne les protège pas ; allez les chasser si vous voulez." Tout cela, je le répète, est notoire, et on doit regretter que les choses soient ainsi, quand l'opium pourrait entrer légalement avec un grand bénéfice pour le trésor impérial. Mais il n'a pas été possible de décider l'empereur à adopter ce système. Après avoir, dans plusieurs décrets, déclaré que l'opium est un poison et une calamité pour le peuple, il n'a pas cru qu'il fût de la dignité de sa couronne d'en autoriser l'introduction dans le but d'en retirer un bénéfice. Je comprends ce sentiment, et je le respecte ; mais voudrait-on exiger du gouvernement anglais que, par le moyen de ses commodores, il empêchât ses propres sujets de faire un commerce avantageux, tandis que les Américains, les Hollandais, les Danois, les Suédois, les Portugais continueraient à le faire librement, et profiteraient de l'éloignement des Anglais ?

Lord Shaftesbury, en parlant de la valeur de l'opium introduit, dit que les commerçants *volent* (rob) aux Chinois cette somme. Je ne sais ce qui doit paraître ici plus étrange, ou la pensée du noble lord ou l'expression dont il se sert pour la rendre. Je puis affirmer à Sa Seigneurie que parmi les négociants qui font le commerce de l'opium il y a des hommes éminemment honorables, des gentlemen accomplis, qui non-seulement sont incapables de *voler* quoi que ce soit à personne, mais qui ne le cèdent à personne en sentiments de justice et en actes de bienfaisance et de charité. Je ne citerai que M. Lancelot Dent, parce qu'il n'existe plus, et parce que, durant l'époque la plus critique pour le commerce en question, on le regardait comme y étant le principal intéressé, ce qui fit que le commissaire impérial Lin attacha une im-



portance extraordinaire à s'emparer de sa personne, au début des mesures violentes qui finirent par amener la guerre de 1840.

Que l'abus de l'opium soit cause du malheur et de la ruine de quelques individus, de quelques familles, je ne le contesterai pas ; mais je ne vois à cela d'autre remède que celui qui sortira du mal lui-même. Si l'opium est réellement nuisible, il est impossible qu'à la longue on ne finisse pas par le prendre en horreur ; après tout, le plaisir qu'il procure n'est pas assez séduisant pour avoir plus de force que l'amour de la vie, que l'instinct de la conservation. J'ai déjà fait observer que ni les commerçants ni les matelots étrangers, qui ont sans cesse l'opium sous la main, n'aiment point à le fumer, parce qu'ils n'y sont point accoutumés, et ils n'en prennent point l'habitude, parce que, parmi nous, *ce n'est pas la mode*. Interdire la culture et la vente de l'opium parce que quelques débauchés en font un abus pernicieux, ce serait comme si l'on défendait les liqueurs parce qu'il y a des ivrognes, ou les rasoirs parce qu'il y a des gens qui s'en servent pour se couper le cou, ou la poudre parce qu'il arrive que des individus se brûlent la cervelle.

Le côté réellement grave de la question de l'opium se trouve dans la circonstance qui lui a donné tant d'importance aux yeux du gouvernement chinois, je veux dire dans l'exportation des métaux précieux. Tant que cette exportation aura lieu, la cour de Pékin regardera le commerce avec les étrangers comme une calamité, et sa politique aura pour objet de le ruiner où du moins de lui mettre toutes les entraves possibles. La manière de raisonner des mandarins et même des simples particuliers animés de sentiments patriotiques sera celle-ci : "Les Anglais viennent nous apporter leurs marchandises et leur opium pour nous enlever notre argent, et quand nous voulons mettre un terme aux préjudices qu'ils nous occasionnent, ils arrivent avec leurs vaisseaux à vapeur et leurs soldats pour nous forcer de continuer un commerce qui nous est si funeste et continuer eux-mêmes à nous enlever notre argent." Ces idées existent déjà plus ou moins dans toutes les classes, et elles peuvent devenir générales.

On a pensé que le gouvernement finirait par autoriser publiquement la culture de l'opium en Chine ; mais il résulterait de là que, d'immenses terrains employés maintenant à produire du riz recevant une autre destination, il faudrait faire venir du riz de l'étranger, en sorte que le pays dépendrait de l'étranger pour sa subsistance. Dans une de mes dépêches au gouverneur de Manille, je calculai la quantité de riz que peut fournir un terrain produisant un nombre donné de caisses d'opium ; mais je ne retrouve pas parmi mes notes une copie de ce travail.

Puisqu'on sait la quantité d'opium que consomme en moyenne chaque fumeur, il n'est pas difficile de calculer le nombre de personnes qui ont cette habitude ; on a trouvé qu'il est de 2 à 3 millions. La population de la Chine étant de 400 millions au moins, si l'on réduit ce nombre d'un tiers pour les enfants et les jeunes gens de moins de vingt ans, on arrivera à ce résultat qu'il y a à peine un fumeur ou deux sur cent individus. Dès lors, quel effrayant accroissement peut pendre encore la consommation de l'opium !

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## LA CAUSE PREMIÈRE DE LA GUERRE DE 1840.

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Le nouveau vice-roi, *Lin*, arriva à Canton le 10 de mars 1839, et après quelques petits incidents qu'il serait prolix de détailler il finit par faire détenir dans leurs maisons, et sans communications ni vivres, tous les étrangers (au nombre de deux cent soixante-quinze), y compris le représentant du gouvernement anglais, capitaine Elliot. Toutes ces personnes demeurèrent sans aucun de leurs domestiques et sans plus de provisions de bouche que celles qu'ils avaient par hasard, ou celles qu'ils purent introduire au moment où on leur arracha leurs gens. Ils restèrent trois jours dans cet état ; quelques-uns durent se charger de balayer, d'autres de puiser de l'eau, et ceux qui possédaient quelque talent culinaire se transformèrent en cuisiniers. Celui-ci pesait le riz qui lui restait, celui-là comptait les olives ou les anchois ; et cette tragi-comédie dura jusqu'à ce que le capitaine Elliot, se conformant aux désirs ou plutôt aux ordres du commissaire impérial *Lin*, fit distribuer une circulaire où il était ordonné, au nom de son gouvernement, que tout l'opium qui se trouvait dans les navires lui fût remis. En conséquence, on lui livra 20,300 caisses d'opium, dont la valeur était à peu près de 10 millions de piastres (£2,000,000), et il les mit à la disposition de *Lin*, qui les fit détruire entièrement.

Immédiatement après on remit en liberté les étrangers, auxquels on rendit leurs serviteurs, et le capitaine Elliot partit pour Macao, ordonnant à tous ses compatriotes de quitter Canton.

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## LETTERS FROM THE REV. STORRS TURNER.

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SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE OPIUM TRADE.

QUEEN ANNE'S MANSIONS,  
ST. JAMES'S PARK, S.W.,  
June 8th, 1882.

SIR,—I have read with much interest the chapter reprinted from Don Sinibaldo de Mas' book. It was new to me, and I am much obliged to you for sending me a copy of it. The eminent position of the author must secure a respectful attention for his opinions which are expressed with much ability and moderation. I need hardly say that I cannot entirely agree with him, and I could point out, if it were but desirable to enter into the discussion, certain statements which are incorrect. I will, however, not trouble you with any argument, but if you are inclined to study the subject more, I shall be glad to send you any of our publications, a list of which you will find at the close of our magazine, of which I send a copy.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

STORRS TURNER.

TO H. HENRY SULTZBERGER, Esq.,  
110, Cannon Street.

In answer to my request to point out to me those "*certain statements which are incorrect*," I received the following reply :—

QUEEN ANNE'S MANSIONS,  
ST. JAMES'S PARK, S.W.,  
June 10th, 1882.

DEAR SIR,—I have much pleasure in sending you some of our publications. The notion which has got into the heads of Don Sinibaldo de Mas, Sir R. Alcock and others, that the missionaries assail the opium trade *because* of their ill-success in converting the Chinese (and even as an apology for this) is a ludicrous error, about which I see I must write a page or two in the "Friend of China" when I can find time and space, though really it is too absurd to require any serious treatment. The missionaries attack the trade (1) because their intercourse with the natives convinces them that it does grave harm to China; (2) because it is patent to them that "forcing opium into China,"—to adopt the shorthand expression for the series of political facts, as well known to you as to me,—is a flagrant injustice.

It is quite true that the Chinese frequently taunt the missionaries with the opium trade as being inconsistent with Christianity. I myself have had the objection brought against us in discussion with the Chinese times more than I can number. The objection is a very painful one, and it is natural that we missionaries should bring it home

with us and repeat it on missionary platforms. But this is not the *origin* of our hostility to the opium trade.

In the same way Don S.-de M. ascribes a causal power to a subsidiary consequence when he attributes the opposition of the Chinese Government and people to the opium trade to the exportation of the precious metals. Undoubtedly the drain of silver from China was regarded as serious, and undoubtedly this fact intensified the dislike of the Chinese rulers for the trade, but the root and origin of their opposition to the import of opium was, and is, their conviction that it is deleterious to the country. This is demonstrable. The opposition to opium began before there was any appreciable drain of silver, it continued when the balance of trade was the other way. If the drain of silver had been the most powerful objection, the Chinese would have adopted Hü Naetsze's suggestion in 1836 of legalizing the trade.

Don S. de M. evidently knew China only from the outskirts, looking at it from his place in the fringe of diplomatic and commercial communities which touch its outskirts at Peking, Shanghai, etc. He did not know China in its interior life, nor the missionaries in their work.

Yours truly,

STORRS TURNER.

H. H. SULTZBERGER, Esq.



# TRANSLATION OF THE EXTRACT FROM “ENGLAND, CHINA, AND INDIA,”

BY DON SINIBALDO DE MAS,

*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Queen of Spain in China.*

PARIS, 1858.

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1857.

## THE OPIUM TRADE.

OPIUM was undoubtedly the cause of the war of 1840, of which the present is only a consequence; hence the subject is sufficiently important to require a special chapter for its discussion. I have never, either in my public or my private capacity, been in any way concerned in the Opium Trade, for Spanish ships (and of them only can such an assertion be made) have never been the means of introducing into China a single chest of opium. On the other hand, I have seen the Chinese in Calcutta, Singapore, Penang, Malacca and Manilla, as well as in many parts of China itself, where I have acquired a knowledge of the language sufficient to enable me to converse readily with the natives. I therefore believe that I know something of the subject, and that I am in a position to treat it with perfect impartiality.

Opium has been the subject of much vituperation. It has been denounced as an actual poison, consequently any traffic in it has been equally denounced as neither more nor less than iniquitous. A memorial embodying this view, signed by a number of missionaries and supported by Lord Chichester, has been presented to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

A petition couched in like terms has also been adopted by a meeting of Anti-Opium philanthropists in London, and presented by Lord Shaftesbury, the President of a Committee formed for the entire suppression of the traffic. This petition I shall comment upon hereafter. Lastly, certain members of both Houses of Parliament have taken up the position of uncompromising opponents of the Opium Trade. On the other side the Christian merchants settled in China, and several authors, such as Sir J. F. Davis and other persons of position,\* have

\* I can in no wise admit the idea adopted by a great number of persons that the introduction of opium is the source of all manner of evils, and the cause of untold misery to China. I have never succeeded in seeing personally a single instance of the disastrous results of which we hear so much, though abuse of opium must be extremely pernicious. However, the same observation applies to every other indulgence, when carried to excess; but from all I have seen since my arrival in China, from all the investigations I have been able to make, and from the statements of mandarins of high

maintained that the use of this substance is attended with no greater, even with less, ills than that of spirituous liquors. I shall endeavour to elucidate this question with impartiality and good faith.

Opium is smoked without let or hindrance by the Chinese in India, the Malay Peninsula, Java, the Philippines, Borneo, and Soulou, where it is cheaper than at Canton or Shanghai; to say nothing of the towns of the interior of China, remote from the coast. In all these places it is a matter of common observation that, notwithstanding the trying climate, the Chinese are remarkably healthy and robust, and that as agricultural labourers, masons, porters, etc., they do most of the hard work. They are in such repute as excellent colonists that for some years past great efforts have been made to introduce Chinese immigrants into Peru and the island of Cuba.

The mortality in the settlements of Chinese is not in excess of the ordinary death rate, and I can say for my own part that having known a great number of Chinese emigrants in the various places above enumerated, I have never heard of one of them either dying or being seriously ill from the effects of opium-smoking. It was only on my arrival in China that I heard of the dire consequences of the use of this narcotic, and there for the first time did I hear its vapour, as inhaled by smokers, characterised as "*poison*." I ought to add that in all the various parts of China which I have visited, I have never known a single instance of a death resulting from opium-smoking, and on my questioning trustworthy natives on the point, their reply has been that in the case of a confirmed smoker, suddenly deprived of his drug, death might possibly result, as a consequence not of the use of opium, but of the privation. As an instance of this, which came under his own observation, a Chinese gave me the case of an opium-smoker who had fallen into abject poverty, and was found insensible and almost lifeless, when a charitable neighbour introduced a little of the smoke into his mouth, which so far revived him as to enable him to smoke a pipe for himself, by means of which he completely recovered.

I quite admit that opium is in itself a poison, but what wondrous transformations are not effected by fire on the substances subjected to its action! Now, when opium is smoked, a small quantity is introduced into the bowl of the pipe, and on a light being applied it burns with a bright flame, producing the fumes which are inhaled. A great deal has been said of its effects on the smoker. Opium-smoking has been stated to produce a pleasant intoxication, a soothing drowsy sensation, a poignant excitement, which becomes necessary to its votary's existence, and which can only be obtained by a gradual increase of his dose. For my own part, though I have often smoked opium, I have never experienced anything of the kind, and many other Europeans, who have made the same experiment, have assured me that the results

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rank themselves, I have long ago come to the conclusion that the demoralisation and ruin attributed by some persons to the use of opium are, probably from imperfect information, grossly exaggerated; while they are exceeded a hundredfold by the deplorable consequences daily seen to result from the excessive use of spirituous liquors and other stimulants of large and constant consumption both in England and India (Despatch of Sir Henry Pottinger, Governor-General and Minister Plenipotentiary from England to China).



in their case were similar to those in mine. I have had opium-smokers in my own house, and have not only given them opium *ad libitum*, but have even induced them by trickery to smoke to excess, and yet on speaking to them shortly afterwards on important matters of business, their replies have been as clear and as much to the purpose as if they had not been smoking at all. If any member of the Anti-Opium Society has any doubts on the subject, he may verify my results for himself by experiment, and he will not find it particularly difficult to procure in London the pipe, the opium, and all the accessories necessary for the purpose. Opium when smoked produces effects very similar to those of tobacco. Its smoke, however, possesses more of the nature of a perfume, and is not disagreeable even on a first trial—at least, such is my experience—whereas my first and second attempts at tobacco-smoking were attended by feelings of nausea, sinking, and disgust, which lasted for the rest of the day, and even now I cannot smoke a cigar without discomfort, although I have often been obliged to smoke both in Turkey and elsewhere in the East. Let me repeat here once more that my opium-smoking never resulted in any distinctly pleasurable sensations, and as a fact quite in harmony with this experience of my own, I may further mention that the foreigners in China who deal in opium, and through whose hands it is continually passing, never take to it, and though all of them have tried it more or less, they invariably prefer a cigar. No doubt a habitual opium-smoker may become an infatuated devotee of the drug, just as a drunkard may become a slave to beer or spirits, the Indian to his betel, the snufftaker to his rappee. The use of all these things is unpleasant at first, but once the habit of using them is contracted, they not only give pleasure, but become articles of absolute necessity. I might instance many facts in proof of the power of habit where the palate is concerned, but I shall confine myself to one of which I was an eye-witness. It is so singular that some of my readers may suspect exaggeration, or deem it even pure invention ; nevertheless I can affirm its strict truth.

When I had occasion to visit the ruins of Palmyra, I was advised to take with me a sufficient supply of water for the journey both ways and for the time I should stay there, the water to be got on the spot being simply undrinkable. In fact the only supply of it to be obtained there is from a brook called Kibrid, *i.e.*, sulphur, the water of which is brackish and sulphurous. Nothing more detestable could be imagined. Yet the Bedouins established in the neighbourhood have become accustomed to it and thrive on it. On my return I went to Homs, a town in Syria, on the Orontes, the water of which is pure and delicious. I was travelling with a caravan of two hundred Arabs from Palmyra. On their arrival, tired and thirsty, many of them hastened to wash and drink ; but when they had allayed their thirst they ejected the water from their mouths with an expression of disgust, and wiped their lips with their hands, exclaiming “Battal,” *i.e.*, “How bad it is.”

Thus the Chinese infatuation for opium is chiefly a matter of habit which they find most difficult to break off, however much it might be to their advantage to do so, just as a European would find it hard to give up the habitual use of wine and tobacco. Moderate opium-smoking seems to produce no ill-consequences, but in excess its results

seem to be loss of appetite, a leaden pallor of the skin, and a degree of leanness so excessive as to make its victims appear like so many living skeletons. I had in my house for three years a person who was a typical example in this respect. He was a man of letters at Peking, who taught Chinese to two young Spaniards attached to my legation. His whole leisure time was spent in smoking opium. When I first knew him, in 1848, he was a man of fifty or thereabouts, and I have every reason to believe that he is still alive and still occupied in daily teaching. At first sight one might have supposed him to be in the last stage of consumption, and yet I never knew him to be confined to his room by illness for even a single day. He was the quietest person in the whole house, and spent whole days with his pipe and a little Manilla dog, of which he was very fond.

The worst that usually happens to immoderate smokers is that they lose all activity and zest for work, partly perhaps owing to the horizontal position which is to be assumed for the better enjoyment of the opium fumes. There are instances to be met with where the smoker neglects his business to such an extent as to lead to certain ruin, when the families thus ruined naturally cry out against both the drug and the foreigner who brings it with him. The notion that opium smoke is poisonous, and that the habitual inhaling of it is the cause of diseases of various kinds has been started entirely by the Chinese Government and by the Protestant missionaries, who are mostly Americans. There are on the coast of China some seventy or eighty of these missionaries with their families, and since, in matters of conversion, they obtain little or rather no success, they delude themselves with the belief that their failure is due to opium-smuggling. In a petition to the Queen some of the English missionaries expressed themselves as follows :—

“It is a matter of the deepest regret to those of your Majesty's subjects who have devoted their efforts and their energies to the diffusion of the light of Christianity among a people plunged in heathen darkness—a regret which they cannot doubt will touch a chord of sympathy in the hearts of your Majesty and of your Majesty's Christian subjects—that all the efforts made by these your Majesty's faithful subjects to effect the conversion of the natives are absolutely neutralised by the existence and continuation of this anti-Christian traffic. Indeed, the Chinese say, and very naturally so, ‘How can we be favourably impressed by your professed desire to enlighten our minds and ameliorate our condition, temporal as well as eternal, when simultaneously we have before our eyes such palpable proofs of the efforts your countrymen are making to destroy us, both in body and soul.’”

Here we are duly forewarned that, if China is not Christianised, it is simply because Europeans grow and sell opium. But I should much like to learn from these worthy missionaries what word in their own language, the Chinese, in whose name they thus speak, have made use of to designate “the soul”; and also, how these non-Christian natives could ever have conceived such an idea as losing their soul through the opium pipe?

The Chinese Government began to complain of the opium trade and sought to prohibit it only so soon as they saw that their silver was rapidly leaving the country. Previously the Celestial Empire had



received large amounts of that metal through the very medium of commerce, but the balance of trade had now turned against China, if not owing to, at least contemporaneously with, a material increase in the imports of opium.

The habit of opium-smoking was communicated to the Chinese by a neighbouring people, the inhabitants of Assam, where it had prevailed from time immemorial. At the outset, the Portuguese at Macao were the sole importers of the article, and though the date of the commencement of the trade there, is not precisely known, it is certain that in 1767 the yearly consumption already amounted to 1,000 chests. The chest of Malwa opium contains 140 lbs., that of Patna or Benares from 152 lbs. to 157 lbs. After being prepared for smoking, the weight is reduced to nearly one half. This branch of commerce, opened up by the Portuguese, attracted the attention of the English East India Company, which sent its first consignment of opium to the coast of China in 1773. It may therefore be recorded here for the sake of both truth and justice, that when the English began to import opium into China, some forty or fifty years had already elapsed since the Chinese had contracted the habit of opium-smoking spontaneously, and by the mere example of their Asiatic neighbours. In 1800 the consumption had reached 5,000 cases. The Emperor then issued an edict, by which the importation of opium was absolutely forbidden, on the grounds of the waste of time which it occasioned, and the loss of the money and goods given by his subjects in exchange for this "vile foreign ordure." From this it may be inferred that the export of silver to India at least had already begun. This prohibition remained a dead letter, and was productive only of bribes to the Mandarins. It was not until the year 1820 that the matter became urgent. By that time the consumption had increased, and the price had risen, and still continued to rise, until in 1822 it was about 1,800 dols. per chest. In spite of all efforts to the contrary, opium smuggling went on as before, thanks to the corrupt connivance of the Mandarins, and even steadily increased. The headquarters of this trade were at Macao, where the Portuguese admitted the drug on payment of a duty, which was at last raised to so high a point that the opium dealers resorted to the expedient of establishing floating depots or storeships near the island of Lintin, and in this way the trade was carried on until the year 1839, when it attracted the attention of the Court of China. (See note at page 102.)

This continually increasing drain of silver brought about a serious depreciation in the value of other commodities, especially of land and its produce, and as the revenues in China are chiefly derived from the land tax, the Treasury receipts fell off considerably, while, on the other hand, the salaries of the civil servants of the Government, as well as all other expenses, remained unaltered, thus causing a serious deficit. The Government was not slow to perceive in the increased use of opium one of the causes of this impoverishment of the country. This is plainly alluded to in the prohibitory decree of 1800, and although in subsequent decrees and edicts poisonous properties are attributed to opium, and solicitude for the public health is set forth as a reason for its prohibition, it is abundantly clear that the real motive was to check the drain of silver, which undoubtedly was producing very serious effects indeed. It is an indisputable fact that this drain of silver had

been going on from 1800 to 1854. It is known, too, that for a number of years the silver thus exported had amounted to no less than fifteen millions of dollars per annum. Taking only half of this amount as the average annual export, the grand total for the fifty-four years would reach the enormous sum of four hundred millions of dollars, or more than 12,000 tons of silver. In the year 1844, a native merchant, a man of about sixty, told me that in his youth the Spanish dollar was worth 600 cash (a copper coin, and the only state coinage of China), while in that year (1844) the dollar had risen to 1,300 cash and even more. I asked the reason of the change. "Because," said he, "silver is dearer now than it was then." "And why is it dearer?" "Because there is less of it." "And why is there less of it?" "Because you foreigners have taken it away."

It may be noticed that this drain was not confined to silver only, but also included a very considerable quantity of the Chinese copper coinage, which is current at Soulou, Bali, Tonquin, and elsewhere. I have known whole cargoes of cash sent to these places, especially when the exports of rice from there to China were considerable. If copper coin had not been largely exported as well as silver, the price of the dollar would undoubtedly have risen to 2,000 cash or even more.

Opium having thus become a positive economical calamity to the Chinese, a number of well-meaning foreigners set their faces against the trade in and even the cultivation of the article, but the opinions of some of them have been characterised by great exaggeration and violence, based as they are on hearsay rather than on a careful personal study of the facts of the case. The most conspicuous amongst these opponents of opium is Lord Shaftesbury, the President of the London Committee for the suppression of the opium traffic. I have not the smallest doubt, either of the goodness of heart or of the excellent intentions of the noble lord. There is even a certain grandeur and generosity in the act of contending—on behalf of an alien and distant nation—against the interests of one's own country and fellow countrymen. I have a sincere admiration for men of that stamp as well as for the country which produces them; but I sincerely regret that Lord Shaftesbury has not acted with more deliberation, when interfering in a question which—if at all—he seems to have studied so very imperfectly; and, above all, I am truly sorry that his language was not a little more measured and moderate, since he could have so easily avoided the double mistake first of publishing a document blemished by gross statistical errors, some of which are even opposed to common sense, and, secondly, of inflicting gratuitous injury on many persons who have in no way deserved such treatment.

In his statement laid before Her Majesty's Government, he actually asserts as a fact that annually two millions of people kill themselves by smoking opium. How is it possible for the noble lord to have succeeded in persuading himself that every year two millions of human beings actually kill themselves voluntarily, not through the promptings of despair or any of the other causes which conduce to suicide, but simply and solely for the sake of procuring to themselves a pleasurable enjoyment. Has his Lordship not been struck by the very absurdity of this antithesis between pleasure and death, or does he believe that human nature in China differs essentially from human



nature in Europe? Is it logically permissible to throw out to the public assertions so startling without having the slightest data to go upon or the smallest proof to adduce? Upon investigation of the accusations launched by his Lordship against the merchants and the producers of opium, we shall find a similar lack of accuracy and an equal absence of justice. It is a great mistake to suppose that the opium trade is carried on by the English only, since opium is imported and sold by all foreigners indiscriminately, and more particularly, perhaps, by the Americans.

It is also a mistake to regard the opium trade as an infraction of the Treaty of Nankin. That treaty makes not the smallest mention of opium, nor is opium even specifically included in the Tariff, from which two facts we can only reasonably infer that it falls under the class of unenumerated articles which are charged with an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. So entirely is this the case that at first many of the merchants entered it at the Chinese Custom House, intending to pay the duty upon it at the above mentioned rate of 5 per cent. The ships carrying opium do not enter the ports at all, and, therefore, are in no way under the control of the consuls, but they take up their position at the mouths of the rivers of the five treaty ports or at some other points on the coast where the connivance of the Mandarins with this trade is secured by means of well-established gratuities.

It is another gross mistake to suppose that if the British Government were to prohibit the importation of the drug by British vessels the article would cease to be imported, for it would be introduced simply under other flags. This is abundantly clear from the fact previously mentioned, that opium was originally imported by the Portuguese, and that Her Majesty's subjects merely engaged in a most lucrative trade already fully established and of long standing too. It is no less a mistake to imagine that if the importation of opium by any foreign vessels into China was stopped, the consumption of the article would be at an end. As a matter of fact the Chinese junks are perfectly acquainted with the way to India, and if they do not go there now for opium, it is only because the Chinese merchants find it both cheaper and more expeditious to avail themselves of the English clippers.

It is another gross mistake to suppose that if the cultivation of opium in the territories ruled by the English East India Company were prohibited, the article would no longer be procurable. The poppy grows well enough from the line up to 30° or 40°, and opium is extensively produced in Java, the Philippines, Borneo, Egypt, &c., including China itself, where for many years the opium crop has reached up to several thousand chests. Probably the opium of Java, for instance, might be found to be rather different in flavour from that of Malwa or Benares, and, therefore, most likely would be deemed inferior, but the consumer no doubt would soon get accustomed to the change, and even end by preferring the new article to the old. A smoker of Havana cigars usually objects to those of Manilla, and, *vice-versâ*, the habitual smoker of Manillas cares little for Havanas. At present opium is little cultivated elsewhere, because it can be grown so very cheaply in India. In the Philippines the cultivation of it has been prohibited from a fear, as I have before stated, that the natives might take to smoking it, and

thus become even more indolent than they already are. For my part, I consider this to be an entirely mistaken policy, for the indolence of the Philippine natives proceeds from their having absolutely no wants whatever, so that if a taste for opium was allowed to spring up amongst them, they naturally would be forced to work, in order to gratify the acquired desire.

Finally the grossest of all mistakes is made by supposing it even possible that the Mandarins could ever advocate the suppression of the opium traffic. Many of them are smokers of the drug, and most, not to say all of them, accept bribes for their connivance at the contraband trade in the article. If we except the famous Commissioner Lin-tsi-su and perhaps a few more residing at the Court of Peking, I believe all the others, even Ki-ying himself, have participated in the profits of this illicit traffic. Sir J. F. Davis, when Minister Plenipotentiary to China, frequently pointed out to him the abuses of opium smuggling, favoured as it was by corrupt officials.

What then in reality is the charge brought against the English East India Company? That this company authorises and encourages the cultivation of opium, from which it draws a revenue of some three millions sterling? Is this company "really" to be expected to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy in order to allow other nations to reap the benefit resulting from the sale of opium to the Chinese, besides having to tax their own subjects for the three millions now derived from this article? As I have myself visited both Upper and Lower India I believe I know something of the country, and therefore I may venture to say that the taxation in those possessions seems to me already so excessive that any attempt to raise such an additional sum as three millions sterling by fresh imposts could not fail to become a most serious matter.

And, may I ask, for whose benefit would such a sacrifice be intended? For the Chinese opium smoker? Certainly not; for he would go on smoking all the same. The sacrifice then would simply turn into a premium in favour of such other country or countries as are ready to supply China with the article by embarking in the cultivation of the poppy. What charge I further ask can there be brought against the merchants? Is not the Chinese demand for opium an absolutely voluntary one, neither induced by any action on the part of foreigners nor in the least encouraged by any example of their own. Is it not the Chinese themselves who seek for the opium kept on board of those receiving ships stationed outside their own ports? Or does the Chinese nation consist either of savages or of children not knowing what they are doing? Can it be expected that Her Majesty's Government should undertake the task of reforming the habits of the Chinese people by correcting their vices, and should manage even their revenue department by performing coastguard duty for them? If so I would simply ask by what right could the English or any other Government pretend to take any such steps. And if such interference is not what these agitators want, what then are they aiming at? Against whom or for what purpose is all this outcry raised at all?

It is alleged that the receiving ships are moored at the mouth of the rivers, that the consuls are fully aware of it and cannot even help seeing it, and more special stress yet is laid upon the fact that the



men-of-war drop anchor in close proximity to these receiving ships. All this is very true, and the consuls, far from pretending to deny it, often enough send even their despatches to Hong Kong by these fast sailing opium clippers. In discussing this question of the receiving ships with the Chinese authorities, the consuls have repeatedly and most distinctly stated: "These ships are in no way under our protection, and you are perfectly at liberty to drive them away if you choose to do so." All this is a matter of common notoriety, and such a state of things is all the more to be regretted because the trade might be so easily legalized to the great benefit of the Imperial Treasury. But it has been impossible to induce the Emperor to adopt this system. After having in numerous edicts denounced opium as a poison and a calamity to his people, he has deemed it inconsistent with the dignity of his crown to permit its introduction for the sake of a revenue. I can fully understand this feeling and entirely respect it; but for all that it furnishes no reason why England should employ her navy in preventing her own subjects from taking part in such a lucrative trade, which would simply pass into the hands of the Americans, the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Portuguese, who all would thus profit by the very abstention of the English.

Lord Shaftesbury, while speaking of the value of the opium thus imported, says it is so much money of which the Chinese are "robbed." I hardly know which causes me the greater surprise, whether his lordship's opinion or the language in which he expresses the same. I can assure his lordship that amongst the merchants engaged in the opium trade there are to be found eminently honourable men—accomplished gentlemen—not only incapable of robbing any person of anything, but also distinguished by the very justice of their sentiments and the charity and benevolence of their actions. I adduce Mr. Lancelot Dent as an example, because he is no longer amongst the living, and also because at the most critical period of the trade he was regarded as the person most largely interested in it, for which reason special importance was attached by the Imperial Commissioner Lin to the possession of his person at the commencement of the violent troubles which culminated in the war of 1840.

That the abuse of opium may cause the ruin of certain individuals and even of their families cannot be denied; but this is an evil which must work its own cure. If opium is really noxious it cannot fail in the long run to be dreaded accordingly, for after all, the gratification derived from its use cannot outweigh the love of life and the instinct of self-preservation. I have already alluded to the fact that neither the foreign merchants nor the foreign sailors who are perpetually handling the article are in the habit of smoking opium. It is simply inconsistent with our customs and they do not acquire the habit, because amongst us, in short, "it is not the fashion." To forbid the cultivation and the sale of opium because a few debauchees abuse it would be as unreasonable as to forbid the use of liquor because there are drunkards to be met with, or of razors because a man may make use of one to cut his own or his neighbour's throat, or of gunpowder because an occasional fool or madman may blow out his brains with it.

The real pinch of the opium question lies in the fact which has

given it so much importance in the eyes of the Chinese Government, I mean the drain of the precious metals which this trade causes. So long as that drain shall continue, the Court of Peking will regard any trade with foreigners as a calamity, and the object of its policy will be to ruin it, or at least to hamper it in every possible way. The mandarins, and even private individuals of a patriotic turn, argue in this way: "The English bring us their merchandise, and amongst it their opium, simply in order to take away our silver, and when we try to put a stop to such disadvantageous trade, they come down upon us with their steamers and their soldiers to oblige us to still carry on a trade so prejudicial to our interests, for that they may carry off our silver as before." Such are the ideas more or less prevalent, and they are likely to become even general.

It has been thought probable that the Government may in the end publicly authorise the cultivation of the poppy in China, but the effect of this would be that large tracts of land now used for producing rice being thus diverted to another purpose, an extensive importation of rice would be necessary, and the country would thus become dependent upon foreigners for its very means of subsistence. In one of my despatches to the Government of Manilla, I made a calculation of the quantity of rice which could be produced by the same extent of land required for the production of a given number of chests of opium, but I cannot now find amongst my papers a copy of that calculation.

Since the average consumption of each individual opium-smoker is known, there is no difficulty in approximately estimating the whole number of smokers, and this is found to be from two to three millions. The population of China being 400 millions at least, we first have to deduct from this number one-third for children and young persons, when we find that for the remainder between one and two per cent. is the proportion of smokers. Hence, what a frightful expansion there would thus remain in store for the future consumption of opium!

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## THE ORIGIN OF THE WAR OF 1840.

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The new Viceroy Lin arrived at Canton on the 10th March, 1839, and after some incidents of little importance, the details of which are immaterial, he ended by confining to their houses without provisions, and entirely cut off from all communication with the outer world, all the resident foreigners to the number of 275, including Captain Elliott, the representative of the English Government. All these persons were left without a single servant, and with no more provisions than what they just happened to have, or what they could lay their hands on at the moment when their domestics were removed. In this condition they remained three days, some of them had to do the household work, sweeping and the like, others to pump the water, and those who had any turn for cooking became cooks. One weighed out the remaining rice, another counted out olives or anchovies, and this tragi-comedy



lasted for three days, until Captain Elliott, yielding to the desire, or rather the commands of the Imperial Commissioner Lin, issued a circular ordering all the opium on board the ships to be delivered up to him. In consequence of this circular, 20,300 chests of opium, valued at about \$10,000,000, or £2,000,000, were so delivered and placed by him at the disposal of Lin, who caused them to be utterly destroyed.

Upon this the foreigners were immediately released, their servants restored to them, and Captain Elliott, ordering all the English to leave Canton, withdrew to Macao.

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## PLAIN AND IRREFUTABLE EVIDENCE FROM AUSTRALIA AND PERU.

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EDINBURGH, *August 6th*, 1882.

DEAR SIR,—I am obliged by yours of yesterday, and should be glad to hear at your entire convenience how you like my translation. My experience of the Chinese was acquired in Australia some twenty-five years ago. I was then conversant with prepared opium as an article of merchandize imported from China for the use of the Chinese. It was a dark-coloured viscous fluid, somewhat resembling treacle, and was contained in small metal packages covered outside with paper wrappers, inscribed with Chinese characters. The contents might be about from four to five ounces, and the wholesale importer's price, if I remember right, was about 30s. or 32s. for that quantity. I have often sold it to the Chinese dealers, amongst whom there were many highly respectable and very intelligent men. They assured me that the use of opium, except in excess, was not injurious, and although a considerable quantity was at that time imported and consumed among the Chinese population, I never heard of its doing any harm. *If death had been in any case caused by it, the Coroner would have had something to say on the subject, and the public would have heard all about it.*

Considering the low rate of wages current in China, it seems to me that opium must be unattainable by the bulk of the population on account of its costliness, and that this fact must be a powerful check on any tendency to excess.

I think your Lima correspondent is right in saying that the use of opium by the Chinese is very analogous to that of tobacco amongst Europeans, neither better nor worse.

I remain, yours truly,

R. WAUGH MACARTHUR.

H. H. SULTZBERGER, Esq.

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The above referred-to Lima correspondence runs as follows :—

LIMA, *June 24th*, 1882.

DEAR SIR,—Replying to your private letter I have to say that as far as my practical experience goes with our Celestial customers, I do not believe that they are the worse, either physically or mentally, for their habit of *smoking* opium, except in very rare cases where through excess the habit has developed into real vice.



I have on many occasions discussed this question with the leading Chinese merchants of Peru, and I have always been assured by them that the habit is not deleterious.

Employers of Chinese labourers all along the Peruvian coast allow their men a moderate use of the drug, and facilitate even its sale to them, which they certainly would not do if it impaired their energies.

In my own opinion the use of opium by the Chinese labourers can be fairly compared with the use of tobacco by Europeans.

Yours faithfully,

G. A. B.

H. H. SULTZBERGER, Esq.

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## THE OPIUM TRADE WITH PERU.

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UNDER this heading I must give a short account of my own experience in the article, because I had the rare advantage of being the very first engaged in this particular trade with Peru.

While a pupil in one of the numerous educational establishments in and near Geneva (Champel Venel) during the years 1849-50, an intimate friendship sprung up between one of the masters there and myself, in consequence of which I procured him the means of undertaking the journey to Peru, whence he was offered the post of private tutor in a family of position, residing in Lima, on condition of risking the journey at his own expense.

From mere family tutor my friend soon rose to the position of secretary to his wealthy master, and through taking also an active part in the business of the same, whenever not engaged in his educational duties, he was finally admitted a partner, and thus became a most enterprising merchant.

At first his principal's chief business consisted in the importation into Peru of Chinese Coolies from Macao, which circumstance afforded my friend an early opportunity to acquaint himself with the Chinese habit of opium-smoking, and soon induced him to ask me for a trial shipment of one or two cases of that drug as a small venture on joint account, which turned out so exceptionally profitable that I repeated the operation at frequent intervals, and on an increased scale, when the matter attracted the attention of his principal, and the business, from a joint speculation between ourselves, changed into regular orders from the firm to be executed by me on the system of commission business pure and simple. The importation of these Chinese Coolies having taken a rapid development, my orders too steadily increased, and soon attained such importance that without this intervention on the part of the firm, we never could have kept pace, between ourselves, with this ever increasing demand.

While at first the article was admitted entirely free, it soon became subjected to a pretty heavy duty, when my packing instructions assumed such a peculiar character, as to leave me no doubt whatever respecting their real object, and years afterwards I learnt from my said friend, when on a visit to this country, that not one-fifth part of the opium consumed in Peru was properly declared at the Custom House there, but "was got through" somehow or other. The effect of this systematic "evasion of the duty," as my friend called it, probably because the word "smuggling" was not to his taste—was that the duty was lowered to one-half of its original rate, when the effect following this change took everybody completely by surprise. Lowered still further, and to such a point as to render smuggling no longer worth risking, the result was another considerable increase in the receipts of the Peruvian Exchequer. The business now had assumed an importance such as to attract the attention of several other firms, and owing to this competi-



tion it lost considerably of its former profitableness. Some Chinese merchants, too, having settled in Lima, a good portion of the supplies of the drug was now imported by them from China, via San Francisco, which rendered it rather difficult to keep any longer a true record of the trade in this article with Peru. However, by putting this down somewhere between 120 to 150,000 lb. per an., previous to the breaking out of the war with Chili, I think I am not far from the mark.

During the worst period of this protracted and most ruinous struggle between the two sister Republics, the exports of opium from here to Peru, though at times entirely suspended for a month or two, yet never fell below the figure of 40,000 lb. per an., from which undeniable fact I draw the conclusion that "*coûte que coûte*," John Chinaman—in Peru at least—must have his pipe of opium. Considering that before the war, with the exchange on London at 30d. per sol, or thereabouts, the selling price of opium averaged only from 7 soles to 9 soles per lb., it looks all the more surprising to see him pay gradually up to say 90 soles and even 100 soles per lb. for the article, after the rate of exchange had fallen down to the almost ridiculous figure of 2½d. per sol, and if it be true, as I was assured by a presumably well-informed friend that, notwithstanding this unprecedented depreciation in the value of the paper currency of the country, John Chinaman's wages out there are now very much the same as before the war, the wonder really is that he should be able to manage at all to remain true to his pipe.

To my knowledge there never was any attempt made in Peru to "prohibit" the importation of the drug, which most likely may be accounted for by the entire absence out there of those well-meaning missionaries who think that John Chinaman cannot take care of himself, and who, with respect to this article, manage to see things which, to less fantastic observers, simply remain invisible. On the other hand we see that those most directly interested in getting all the work they can out of John Chinaman, *i.e.*, his employers, actually "*facilitate*" the sale of this so-called deadly poison to him. (See page 110.) When we consider that a rapid rise in the cost of the drug, up to ten and even twelve times its former price, only partly affects the consumption of the same, it is obvious that no amount of "duty" is ever likely to do so; but, at the loss of the Custom House, is sure to benefit those who are spirited enough to run the risk of "*quietly evading such duty*."

As I thought it useless even to try to obtain any information respecting the death rate amongst the Chinese in Peru, I will attempt to make a rough guess at it by way of comparison, and thus I would simply record the following three facts.

1st. That the wholesale importation of Chinese Coolies from Macao, as shown by the document reproduced at foot, has entirely ceased ever since 1874.

2nd. That the "free immigration" of Chinese from San Francisco, on account of the very costliness of this route, can hardly be worth while being taken into consideration. And

3rd. That abstraction being made of the very worst period of the war, the consumption of the drug keeps on a wonderfully regular scale, from all of which it may be fairly concluded that this "death rate" cannot possibly be anything extraordinary.

LONDON, 10th June, 1880.

MY LORD,

The undersigned British merchants having establishments on the West Coast of South America, being deeply interested in the development of the agricultural resources of the Republic of Peru, desire to call your Lordship's attention to a matter of the greatest moment in connection with this subject.

As your Lordship is doubtless aware, Peru has for some years past been making steady progress as an agricultural country, and more especially in the cultivation of sugar and cotton, the exportation of which articles to this country has rapidly increased in importance from year to year. A large amount of English capital has found remunerative employment in fostering this industry.

It is also no doubt within your Lordship's knowledge that, owing to the peculiar conditions of the country, those concerned in the development of its agriculture have been mainly dependent upon Chinese labour for the cultivation of their estates. The chief reason for this is, that the lands best suited for the growth of the sugar cane and the cotton plant are situated on the coast, the inhabitants of which region are not sufficiently numerous to supply the necessary labour. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the mountainous region of Peru, who would find abundance of occupation on the coast and are far more numerous, are nevertheless unable to withstand the effects of the climate of the coast.

Chinese immigrants have, on the contrary, been found to thrive on the Peruvian littoral, and many thousands are now settled in that region, where they readily find employment both in agricultural and in other pursuits. Large numbers of them have acquired competencies, and it may be said that none, except those suffering from bodily ailments and infirmities have become destitute, whilst comparatively few care to return to their own country, the larger proportion remaining as permanent settlers. The majority of these were brought to Peru from Macao under the old coolie system, which was abolished in 1874 through the intervention of Her Majesty's Government with the Government of His Majesty the King of Portugal, as it was found that that system gave rise to many abuses.

The great demand which existed and still exists for Chinese free labour brought about an attempt which was made in 1877 to establish a regular line of steamers between the ports of Hong Kong and Callao, the latter being the chief port of Peru, and situate in the centre of the agricultural district of that country. This attempt was unsuccessful through the failure of the firm owning the line of steamers. The scarcity of labour has in consequence greatly increased, and has reached such a point that the large sums invested in sugar and cotton plantations in Peru are jeopardised through this cause. The principal cultivators, under the denomination of the "Agricultural Society of Peru," have therefore commissioned a gentleman now in Europe to proceed to China with the object of contracting free labourers on their behalf, and providing them with the passage money and requisites for their journey to Peru, of which Her Majesty's Minister Resident at Lima has been duly informed.



An ambassador from the Court of Peking is now on his way to Lima, and it is thought will establish Consulates in Peru, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Commerce already in existence between that country and China.

We have thus briefly laid before your Lordship the principal features of this important subject, our object being to solicit the countenance and support of Her Majesty's Government in facilitating the free emigration to Peru of labourers, both from the British colony of Hong Kong and from ports in the Chinese Empire.

We are

Your Lordship's obedient humble Servants,

GRAHAM, ROWE & Co.  
DUNCAN, FOX & Co.  
ANTONY GIBBS & SONS.  
ISAAC & SAMUEL.  
FREDERICK HUTH & Co.  
BATES, STOKES & Co.  
HAINES, BATCHELOR & Co.  
BARING BROS. & Co.  
HENRY KENDALL & SONS.  
BUTE, TAYLOR & Co.  
MATHESON & BEAUSIRE.  
GRÜNING & Co.

To the Right Honourable EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.,

*Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State  
for Foreign Affairs, Whitehall.*

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## OPIUM SMUGGLING INTO CUBA.

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NOT many years ago, while passing with two friends of mine through a narrow lane in a neighbourhood of London, situate within less than half-a-mile of the Mansion House, we saw a large cask lowered from the upper floor of a warehouse down to a lower story of the same, and as the chain in which it was slung seemed to be under quite an extraordinary strain, creaking as if ready to snap in two at any moment, we stopped instinctively, in order to allow the process of lowering to be accomplished, when one of my friends observed that I never would be able to guess what this cask contained.

Judging between the size of it and the so-to-say self-speaking strain it exercised on the crane, I said that anyhow there must be more than a ton of it, and asked my friend for the reason *why* he thought I could not make a guess at its contents as well, when he replied, because he felt sure that I never had heard yet of opium being packed into casks of this or any other size.

This remark all at once raised my suspicion, and I answered—"If so, I am sure it can mean nothing else than 'smuggling,' and I should like to know for what market it is intended."

Upon this I was given certain hints about the style of the packing, tin boxes were pointed out to me, which could be seen distinctly through the windows piled up high on the ground floor of the said warehouse, and from a rough guess of the number of "empty" casks observed by the other friend of mine, a few days previously when being taken in, as well as from the name of the firm occupying the premises, it became patent to me that by the purest of accidents I had thus got to know at last what I long suspected to be going on, with reference to the Cuban Market, in my article, but which I always had supposed was being practised only from New York.

As at that very time I happened to have some old consignments of opium still lying unsold in the hands of my Havana correspondents, and which they could not dispose of without a very heavy loss, owing to the smuggled article being constantly offered much below the real calculation of cost, I resolved at once to follow up the affair, and see what could be done in the matter.

Knowing that such valuable stuff would be shipped only by steamer, I was sure at once that Liverpool would be the place of shipment, and I therefore hurried to this old second home of mine where, thanks to my local knowledge of all the Custom House and shipping formalities, I traced with the greatest ease, not only the one lot just undergoing the process of shipment, but quite a string of former shipments of the same kind and importance, one of which I moreover ascertained to be just on the point of being landed on the other side, the steamer carrying the same having arrived out in Havana only a few days previously.



A rather costly cablegram, which for safety's sake I was even compelled to have repeated, caused some good old Liverpool friends of mine to ridicule this my apparently foolish determination of thus throwing away nearly the whole of a twenty pound note, which I had to borrow from them for the purpose, but their remarks only served to increase my said determination to follow up this case to the very end.

As there was no chance whatever to hear from my Havana friends before something like three weeks had elapsed, I had ample time to recover from the slight excitement which this unexpected incident had caused to me. This unavoidable delay also afforded me the necessary leisure to work out a complete statement of the last twelve months' smuggling operations of this sort.

The result was that I had thus interfered with somebody's nice and quiet income of something like ten thousand pounds sterling a year in cleverly avoided duties alone.

At last the anxiously looked-for letter from my correspondents arrived, and gave me the most complete satisfaction in every respect. I had the pleasure to learn that my denouncement had entirely succeeded. A few of the casks had already been landed when my cablegram reached my friends, and on that account had been successfully got through in the old profitable style by the unsuspecting consignee.

The bulk of the lot, however, was stopped on the quay, and when tumbled out for inspection, the contents were found to correspond precisely with my telegraphic description of the peculiar packing of the same.

Upwards of five thousand pounds of opium were thus confiscated at one blow, and my correspondents informed me that the general consternation caused by this unprecedented wholesale seizure was altogether beyond description, because, they added, most of the merchants out there were more or less concerned in operations of this sort, either in one or more articles of their particular trade.

A comparison between my correspondent's statement of the quantity of opium duly declared at the Custom House out there, and the above referred to compilation of my own of the parcels thus most systematically smuggled in from here, showed that for the twelve months immediately preceding this seizure, just about a fortnight's consumption of the article had been cleared in the proper way at the prescribed duty of somewhere about 4s. 6d. per lb., the smuggled portion thus being more than nine-tenths of the total quantity consumed.

On this occasion I furthermore learnt from my correspondents that all our own former imports, though strictly declared by them up to the last ounce, had been made in direct contravention of the established law, which precluded anybody, "save an established Druggist," from dealing in this article. Thus, as honest importers, paying the duty to the very last penny, we had actually unwittingly incurred the risk of being fined at any time to a very considerable extent, while the consignee of all those smuggled wholesale importations turned out to be one of those duly established, and therefore highly respectable Druggists, already specially favoured by the law.

Just as I saw no reason to make any secret whatever of my part in this successful performance, I was not in the least astonished to receive a short time afterwards, and in prompt succession, first one small

envelope, containing a rather roughly drawn illustration of the "skull and crossbones," and next two larger ones, forwarded by two highly respectable undertakers of London, and enclosing a rare choice of drawings of coffins, from the plainest up to the most stylish description.

Now it would appear to me that the only conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing is that, wholesale smuggling will always be the inevitable result of the intended restriction of the trade in opium through the mere imposition of high duties. I could point out other parts of the world, colonies of our own, where there is unmistakable evidence of the same game being carried on also on a pretty large scale ; but as I consider one illustration quite sufficient for my purpose, I rather avoid causing unnecessary anxiety to those concerned in this sort of business, the more so as the shippers almost invariably act merely as agents in the matter.

As long as from £30 to £40 clear profit can be realised on a single package of ordinary size, through the mere evasion of a so-called "preventive" duty, the temptation must prove too strong for many a highly respectable man, just for the very reason of his being looked upon as altogether beyond suspicion, a consideration which, I think, the legislator should never lose sight of when fixing the amount of duty on this or any other article.

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## THE FORCING OF OPIUM ON THE CHINESE AN ABSOLUTE IMPOSSIBILITY.

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WHEN that monster lie of the two millions of annual deaths amongst the Chinese, as the direct result of their opium smoking propensity, had to be abandoned at last, the Anti-Opium Leaguers clung all the more tenaciously to their double accusation of our *robbing* poor John Chinaman of his money by *forcing* this deadly drug upon him.

With respect to the *robbing*, I think that the dullest of all school boys in the whole U. K. would have no difficulty whatever in understanding at once that, in a purely eommercial transaction, where fair value in merehandize is given on the one side for money willingly paid on the other, the word "*robbing*" is simply a "*misnomer*," which may mean either "*gross ignorance*" or else "*designing purpose*" on the part of the person using the same.

As to the *forcing*—though enjoying the semblance of correct application when viewed from the purely philanthropic aspect—I think I am in a position to prove, to the satisfaction of anybody gifted with eommon sense, that practically it is on a perfect level with the "*robbing*."

When a treaty—whether entered into in a purely commercial way, or obtained as the result of a successful war, does not affect the argument—stipulates for the admission of any particular article, its object surely can be no other than that of henceforth clearly establishing a formerly not existing or else disputed "*right*" to bring that particular article to the country in question; but it certainly could never be meant to exereise the slightest influence over the consumer of such article, since no earthly power will ever prevent him either from "*doing altogether without it*," or from giving his preference to a home-grown or home-made quality of the same article, if inclined to do either of the two.

Now, in the case of opium, it hardly could be supposed, even for a moment, that the "*doing without it*" will ever find its application with the Chinese.

Possibly they might have done so some fifty or forty or even only thirty years ago, when, for all we can know about the matter, it is generally believed that they did not grow the poppy to any considerable extent; but with a present undisputed "*home grown supply*" of this so-called "*deadly poison*," to the extent of between two-thirds and three-fourths of their entire consumption of it, is it not natural that perfect independenee from the foreign producer of it should be aimed at by the cunning statesmen of this distant Empire, the more so as they find in the missionary that rare combination of "*a readily believing and politically perfectly irresponsible tool*," necessary for such an attempt. I will not go so far as to suspect the two parties of having actually

entered into anything like a regular compact about the matter, because I feel sure that the mere holding out to the worthy missionary of even the faintest of vain hopes in connection with his christianising work out there, will at any time be quite sufficient to set him to work at once also at home, rendering him completely blind though, with respect to the damaging effects of this hopeless but persistent anti-opium agitation.

I now come to furnish the promised proof that practically any "forcing" is altogether out of the question with John Chinaman.

Two years ago I made a repeated attempt to introduce on the Hong Kong market several qualities of opium, which from being procurable here exceptionally cheap at the time, I thought might meet with more favour than what they did on a former occasion some twelve or thirteen years ago. The result of this fresh attempt was that one of the three qualities sold readily at a moderate profit and was asked for again, while another had to be sacrificed at a heavy loss, and the last one could not be sold at all and therefore had to be returned home again; from which facts it is clear enough that John Chinaman has a very well defined taste of his own which he exercises with perfect freedom, the word "forcing" thus having no meaning whatever in his case.

As anything I do is done only on a very moderate scale, this little experience of my own (if standing alone) would not go much towards proving anything; but it so happened that at the very same time some powerful neighbours of mine had to record a precisely similar experience of theirs and on such an important scale that between these two simultaneous return shipments my above argument may fairly be considered "*as fully to the point.*"

This second case is so ably described in the following extract taken from the *New York Weekly Drug News* of November 3rd, 1882, that I only have yet to add that the very "secrecy" therein alluded to is a direct proof that this return shipment must have caused quite an unusual disappointment to the firm in question, because, had the lot been brought back in consequence of their own free choice in the matter, as might have been the case for instance if our market had undergone some sudden and considerable upward movement at that time instead of remaining more dull and depressed than ever it was before, such extraordinary secrecy surely never would have been resorted to.

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## THE CHINESE AND TURKEY OPIUM.

FROM "THE WEEKLY DRUG NEWS," NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 3, 1882.

WE have heard and read much of the purchases of Turkey opium on Chinese account in the Smyrna market, and as these purchases took place at a time when this opium was relatively cheaper than Persian opium, the reports were very generally accepted without question, but still it was considered somewhat singular that the purchases should have been of just such quantities and at just such times as would relieve the Smyrna market from undue depression. It was believed that if purchases would be made on Chinese account they



would be large, and when questioned the ostensible purchasers replied that as the Chinese were not accustomed to the Turkish product it was more in the way of experiment and they were prepared to take only such lots as could be secured at a very low figure. This explanation seemed plausible, and it was believed that hereafter the Chinese could be relied upon to take any surplus production and prevent prices dropping below a profitable figure—say, equivalent to \$3 in bond here. Lately, however, the charge has been made that at least some of these purchases, ostensibly for Chinese consumption, were made for other purposes, most probably by interested speculators to prevent prices falling too low, and that the opium was shipped to China for whatever effect it would have on the markets at Smyrna, London, and New York. It is further asserted that some Dutch merchants were privy to this movement. As a proof of these surmises, for we have no knowledge that they were more, the fact has been pointed out that some lots had been returned from China to London. On the other hand, it has been stated that these lots of Turkey opium could not be sold to advantage in the Chinese markets, and, the price in London advancing, they were re-shipped and sold in the latter market. It is difficult to get at the truth, but that there is some probability of truth in the charges of pretended sales to the Chinese, we are ready to admit.

What gives more colour to these assertions of speculative manœuvres is a recent return of 200 cases of opium from Hong Kong under peculiar circumstances. A correspondent in London, who has taken considerable interest in this matter, and has traced this last lot to the final purchaser, a manufacturer of morphine, in giving us the particulars, says: "While confirming my last reports, I now simply come to inform you that we have just had the surprise of another *China returned parcel of Turkey opium* turning up on our market, which, though actually arrived here at about the very time of my above referred to letter to you, had been most studiously hidden away by means of an entry under the heading of "unenumerated drugs." As this parcel consists of 200 cases, there is no wonder that our market should have received a slight shock, because, until actually put on the market for re-sale, there is no means of knowing whether or not more of such surprises are in store for us later on, and since the importers in this case are also the original exporters of the lot direct from Smyrna to Hong Kong—somewhere about the middle of last year—I hope that by this time you may be fully convinced of the accuracy of my former statements." As these lots had been counted as being entirely out of the market, having apparently gone into consumption, they must again be added to the total supply, or, rather deducted from the probable European and American consumption of present stocks. It was evidently the intention of the owners of these lots to keep their transactions secret, lest they should affect the market price of the drug, and should there be more of these what our correspondent calls "surprises" then the conviction will be forced upon us that at least a part of that vaunted "Chinese demand" was the clever operation of speculators. The effects of these developments it is easy to foresee, and everyone interested in this drug will hereafter be suspicious of reports of sales to the "heathen Chinese."

## MR. TONG KINGSING ON THE SINCERITY OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

FROM "THE FRIEND OF CHINA," AUGUST, 1883.

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### MEETING ADDRESSED BY MR. TONG KINGSING.

ON Friday afternoon, July 20th, a number of friends of the Society, members of the General Council and others, assembled in Queen Anne's Mansions by invitation of the Earl of Shaftesbury, president of the society, and the executive committee. Among those present were Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., Mr. H. Richard, M.P., Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., Mr. Arthur Pease, M.P., Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., Mr. George Palmer, M.P., Mr. James Cropper, M.P., Sir Arthur Cotton, the Rev. R. J. Simpson, Mr. Ho Wyson, of Hong Kong, Mr. John Hilton, the Rev. George Piercy, from Canton, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society; General Tremenheere, Mr. Donald Matheson, Mr. Thomas Hanbury, the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, Mr. Broomhall, and Mr. Cameron, of the China Inland Mission; Dr. J. K. Mackenzie, of the London Missionary Society; Tientsin, physician to H.E. the Viceroy Li Hung-chang; the Rev. Professor Legge, of Oxford, the Rev. Dr. Kay, of Chelmsford, Mr. C. H. Allen, the Rev. W. K. Rowe, &c., &c. After prayer had been offered by the Rev. J. S. Russell, M.A., the Earl of Shaftesbury stated that the object of the meeting was to hear a statement by a Chinese gentleman, holding a very high commercial position in China, who had kindly consented to give some information about the opium traffic, and then invited Mr. Tong Kingsing to address the meeting, who spoke in English as follows:—

My lord, ladies and gentlemen, the establishment of this Society for the Suppression of Opium has made a great sensation in China. The Chinese thought at one time that it was merely a sham, because they could not believe that the English, who brought opium (to the ruin of the country, would at the same time do something to suppress it. However, by reading your reports, by reading your pamphlets, and by having a knowledge of what the Society has done in this country, they have been led to believe that, as the Chinese proverb says, there are still, "in the humblest villages and in the smallest towns, men who are apt to love morality better than money;" and the establishment of the Society has set a good example even among the Chinese themselves, for since this Society was established we have found that many people in China are willing to come forward and do something of the same kind on a small scale. What have they done? They have established hospitals solely to cure the victims of opium-smoking. They admit them to the hospital free of charge and help to cure them, and then send them home. Pills and medicines, which have been prepared to cure the sickness, are given away to the poor free of charge. Certainly this is all through the good example shown to them by this



Society. When the Chinese see people of other nations taking so much interest in their welfare, they feel ashamed not to do anything themselves. Seeing the benefit which has been received through this institution, upon my arrival here three weeks ago—the first day of my arrival—I called upon the secretary of the Society and thanked the Society for what they had already done ; and it is in response to the invitation of the noble chairman that I now appear before you, not that I wish to go into any arguments, but merely from my own experience—from what I have observed during the last forty years—to give you facts, to show you the injury that opium has done to China, and to show you what the Government of the country think of opium.

It is of no use to occupy your time by tracing the history of the opium. That has already been traced out and put into print by this Society ; but from my experience, being a merchant in China, and mixing up with all classes of men, and being a director of the steam and mining companies, I come into contact with our officials in almost every province along the coast and on the rivers, and I think that I can tell you the opinions of the officials and the feelings of the people with more accuracy than most men can.

I regret to find, from what I have read in the newspapers in this country, and also from conversations which I have had from time to time with your countrymen in China, that there are still a good many of them under the impression that opium is not so injurious to people's health as it is represented to be ; and that the Chinese Government is not sincere in its desire to see it repressed. It is chiefly on those two points that I want to speak, so that there may be no misunderstanding.

As to the injury it causes, I speak from my own observations. I have great numbers of relations and friends of my own who smoke opium. Some have done so for ten or fifteen years, and others five or six years ; and I say that the moment that a man begins to take the pipe he is gradually drawn in, so much so that he cannot give it up although he wishes to do so. In a few years you can tell at once from his countenance whether he is an opium smoker or not. Immediately that he has got into the habit of smoking opium he loses his appetite. He eats very little, and he always goes to lie down in his bed with his pipe and sleeps, and sometimes never wakes till the afternoon, and he never goes to bed till the clock strikes two or three in the morning. Such is the habit of the opium-smoker. We find—we do not mean to say that we do not find—that there is still a good number of men who pretend that they have not got into the habit of smoking the opium—that they merely take a pipe or two to amuse themselves—to occupy their time—to refresh themselves. But these very people in a year or two will get into such a habit that, as I said, they cannot give it up. It was only last winter, when I was going to Corea, that a friend of mine, who had commenced to smoke five years before, wanted to go with me. I told him at once that it was impossible for me to take him, as opium-smoking was not known in Corea, and it would be a shame for us to set such an example to a country under our own rule. The man would go. He said that he would give up smoking opium ; and in that instance he did. He went with me to Corea, and barely ten days had passed away before he was

laid up in bed, and he had severe dysentery and other complaints, and he said that he must take his pipe. That shows that when once a man gets into the habit of smoking opium, it is not an easy thing for him to give it up. At the same time I may also tell you that I have not seen a single case where a man has died because he has given up opium. When I was in Her Majesty's service in Hong Kong in 1856, we had hold of one of the biggest scoundrels in the colony, who smoked something like an ounce of opium a day, and we put him in jail, and ordered the warder to take care that no opium was admitted to him. This was done, and in one month that man entirely changed. His face got reddish, he became strong, he became stout, and he weighed no less than twice as much as on the day he went in. That shows that people can give it up, although with difficulty. But what makes them cling to the pipe, and be unwilling to give it up, is something which I cannot explain.

We have seen of course hundreds of cases in which a man has ruined himself by smoking opium : he first becomes poor. Then we have seen the opium-smoker sick and in bed, crying out, "I must die because I am too weak to suck the pipe." We have seen cases where the moment a man gets into the habit of smoking opium he neglects everything. He will not work either with his brains or with his hands. You have no idea how the opium-smoker spends his life from sunset till two or three in the morning. It is curious enough that when a man once gets into the habit of smoking opium, as I said, he not only loses his appetite, but he gets into a liking for taking sweets and fruits. You see the man go into his bed and take a pipe, and then get up again and take a little sweets ; then lie down again, and take the pipe, and then get up and take a little fruit. That is the way he goes on all night. How those who get into the habit of smoking opium become fond of sweets and fruits of course is something for your clever physicians in England to tell us. But that is the case with the majority of opium-smokers in China. It was only lately—two years ago—that one of the richest men in Shanghai died. He had been in the habit of smoking opium for twenty years. He commenced when he was a youth. His father left him an immense estate—an immense fortune, and he went on smoking opium for twenty years. And what has he done ? After his death his family were obliged, not only to sell his valuable library, which was well known in China, but to sell the big house and live in a small one. Immediately he got into the habit of smoking opium he would not attend to his business which was left him by his father, and they were obliged to shut up. And then by degrees he got a lot of friends who also smoked opium, and in that way he spent his time. That man's servants told me that he only saw the sun about once a month. Such is the miserable life of opium-smokers.

You see, therefore, the great injuries that result from opium-smoking. There is one more case which I wish to point out. Two winters ago I was going about some villages in the north of China, near Peking. I went into a school-house, and the schoolmaster having been informed who I was, immediately communicated with the elders of the village, and they came to see me. The first prayer they made was, "Can you not get the Viceroy to prohibit the growth of the poppy in our dis-



trict ? ” My answer was, “ You are the elders of the village. You ought to be responsible for the growth.” “ Oh yes,” they said, “ but the inducement is so great that these people will not do as they have been told, and without the assistance of the authorities we can do nothing.” I said, “ Well, a vicious man is apt to do vicious acts. If they do not take this native opium they will take the Indian drug, which is worse.” The answer they gave was, “ Oh, no, when we had the Indian drug we barely found one per cent. of our villagers smoking opium. Immediately that the country begins to grow the poppy we find a number almost in every house ; about twenty per cent. in the village.” Of that twenty per cent. many of them were students. Those elders said, “ That is the stuff that ruins our country.” And they said it with tears. This shows you, therefore, the great injury of opium. No matter whether it is Indian grown or Chinese grown it is a poisonous drug.

At the request of the elders of the village, I immediately brought the case to the notice of Viceroy Li Hung-chang, and he immediately ordered steps to be taken, and proclamations to be issued, that no more opium should be grown and sold in the place. Some of the districts did obey the order ; but, at the same time, I am sorry to say that in China we have such a lot of underlings, who are always apt to make something for themselves rather than do their duty, and in some places they kept the proclamations back until the poppy got a good height. Then they pounced upon the villagers, and showed the proclamations, in order to obtain some money. The villagers rose up, and had them tied up and sent to the magistrates, and said, “ What business have you to interfere with our crop, when you are allowing the Indian drug to be imported into China ? ”

In answer to the question which I put to the elders of the village about the native drug, they said that when they had only the Indian drug, they had to buy it at a much higher price, and they had to pay hard money for it. They could not get it otherwise ; but when they had the poppy—when they had the native drug in their house, they could not only get it at half-price, but they could borrow it with the promise to pay back the same quantity next year. It is through these facilities that we find the number of people who smoke opium increasing so rapidly. Of course some people say, “ If it is so injurious why does not your Government put it down ? Why do they not take some steps to suppress it ? They are not sincere.” My answer is that they are sincere. They made laws. For those who smoked opium the penalty was death. They did all they could to stop it ; but the Indian drug was forced into China by your shots and shells, and they could not resist it. Although the poppy did exist in China before the Treaty of Nanking was signed, yet it was confined to a very limited district on the west ; but immediately after the Treaty of Nanking was made, and the five ports were opened, we found opium shops in every port, giving people plenty of facilities for getting the drug. And the growth became more and more in China, and it spread to the north and to the north-west, and then into the province of Shansi. Instead of a diminution another war began, and after the Treaty of Tientsin was signed admitting opium as a dutiable article, poppy was found growing under the very walls of Peking. Could China have had such an immense

growth of poppies, if England had not in the first place forced opium into China; and not only forced it upon China, but watched over its distribution among the ports, and protested against the interference of the officials with it? Nine out of ten of the difficulties which have occurred between the Chinese authorities and your consuls arise from opium seizures. China has never, either before or after the wars, admitted that opium is an article which ought to be allowed to enter for the use of the people. She did all she could to have it controlled, yet your government would not allow her to control it. Although it has been admitted as a dutiable article, and duty has been paid upon it, yet there was at the same time a special clause that the moment that a chest leaves the foreigner's hand, and goes into the hands of the Chinese, it is under the Chinese jurisdiction. In the face of that, some of your merchants who sell opium to the Chinese, break chests open, and send a few balls to that town and a few balls to the other town, smuggle them into the country, and when a seizure was made the consul came out and said, "That is the property of an English subject." Now, have they any right over it after the chest is supposed to be sold? When it is taken out and unpacked, and sent away in cases and balls by the Chinese, certainly the Chinese authorities have a right to seize the balls which are smuggled into the country. But no, your consuls deny that. They would not allow the right, and by their doing that they have not only increased the importation but increased the consumption. That is the way. They say to the opium-smokers, "You can go on as much as you like. We will help you. We will give you opium cheaply to suit your taste. You can smoke as much as you like." They have actually increased the consumption of opium in China.

To show you the sincerity of the Chinese Government, I may tell you that not only have they made laws, but have taken steps from time to time to put down the traffic. The present viceroy of Nanking, when he was commander-in-chief in the north-west, having under his jurisdiction the provinces of Kan-suh and Shensi, ordered every poppy plant to be uprooted. Immediately after the famine in Shansi and Honan, the governors there refused to allow any poppy-seeds to be sown there. Only lately they degraded a viceroy, the highest official in the province in China, and sent him home, because he was accused by one of the censors of smoking opium—a charge which he could not deny, and he was obliged to go home. And we have seen various cases of other officials sent away because they smoked opium. Now, when we have all these facts, can you say that the Chinese Government is not sincere in attempting to suppress opium?

The name of opium was never known in China formerly. The Chinese called it "Ap'ien," just the same word as you use for opium. When opium was imported into China, the population knew that it was a noxious drug, which ought not to be imported into the country, and even the opium-smoker himself is ashamed to confess that he smokes opium or smokes it to a great extent. He makes the excuse that he takes one or two pipes for his health; but, as a fact, they every one of them know that it is a bad thing for them to take, and they refuse to admit that they smoke it. As to the officials, I will give you an instance. After the Chefoo Convention was signed,



Viceroy Shen of Nanking was called upon to give his opinion about the opium tax. Lady Shen, the daughter of Commissioner Lin, who came down to Canton in the year 1839 to put down the opium trade, said to her husband, "My father died because he could not suppress opium, and you, instead of following his example, go into the question of taxes and duties." That shows you the feeling of the country.

I want to show you that it is not the wish of the Government to use or to encourage the native drug in order to drive out the Indian drug, as some people think. If they had the wish to do so, or if they had the slightest intention to encourage the growth of the native poppy, there is nothing more easy in the world than to take no notice of it. The inducement to grow the poppy is very great. It produces ten times the profit of growing wheat or barley. The inducement is so great that the moment they cease to take notice of the growth of the poppy, the poppy must increase in China; and you will find that the growth will be so extensive that it will eventually drive the Indian drug out of the market. We shall be exceedingly sorry to see the country in that state in which they cultivate the poppy instead of food for the nourishment of man. The opium smoker who makes four dollars a month and has to keep a wife and children, has to give at least one dollar or a dollar and a half for his opium pipe, and you will find that those people when they get into the habit of smoking opium are generally not wanted; they are generally rejected. People will not give them employment. They have got weak. They cannot stand more than a few hours, and therefore, if they cannot find means, they will kill themselves and their families. If more restrictions were put upon opium, it would not be so. Do not give them so many facilities. But what the English Government has done is just entirely the opposite. They want to give them as many facilities as they can. They want to show them that the use of opium is just as important as the use of Manchester goods, and that the more widely it goes into the country the better, and that the more they take of it the better. Instead of doing something to help the Chinese Government to put it down, they actually encourage it.

I will not occupy your time much longer. There is one more question. It is a very important point. I say here, in the presence of gentlemen who have done so much work in China towards the progress of Christianity, that opium does to a certain extent check the progress of Christianity. No one except those engaged in the work can tell the great task missionaries have had to perform. We have seen students come into a chapel, and sit down for a few minutes, and turn their back and go out of doors saying, "You had better go back and teach your countrymen not to poison China with opium before you come and teach us your good doctrine," and people in China are generally surprised. They say, "What do they mean by sending people here to teach us, and at the same time sending a drug to poison us?" People in China think that all the wealth of England is from the "black rice," as they call it. Perhaps that is a word which you never heard. They call opium the "black rice," because men must live on rice. They have white rice in China, and that is the rice which supports life, but these opium smokers have nicknamed opium as "the black rice," because they cannot do without rice. They all think that the wealth

of England is from that "black rice," and not from your black minerals.

It is not my duty to interfere with politics, because I am travelling here entirely on pleasure. I did not expect to have the honour to be present here to-day, but speaking from a mercantile point, and speaking from my heart as a Chinaman, and speaking to the people of that country which put down slavery in the name of justice and morality, I call upon this country, which has sown the evil seed, at least to assist the Chinese Government to remove the evils which those seeds have produced.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE asked Mr. Tong whether he thought, if we were successful in stopping the importation of Indian opium into China, the Chinese Government would take up measures for putting down the home cultivation. He said, it is often thrown in our teeth, in debating this matter in the House of Commons, that if we did give up the cultivation in India, and the sale of Indian opium in China, still China would cultivate it, and China would be no better off. He wished to know whether the Chinese Government would be in a position to put down the cultivation at home if we gave up the importation.

MR. TONG KINGSING : To this question I think that I may answer that if a good example is set on this side—if the British Government will do something to suppress it—China cannot help doing so; they are bound to do it. There is another reason. We import something like 100,000 chests a year from India. Besides that, the native poppy is increasing every year, and I think that I am not wrong in saying that the quantity of the native drug far exceeds that imported from India. Now, with such a large population, China is bound now to import hundreds of tons of rice from Siam and from Cochin-China. Can she afford to lay any more ground aside to plant the poppy instead of rice? Besides, I think that that is a very poor argument. It will do, perhaps for some other country, but not for a country like England. If the Chinese Government has not the means to suppress the poppy entirely, is that an excuse for the British Government saying that they will not do anything to save this people? No doubt there are planters in China who do not like to see the poppy suppressed, because they live on it. But look at the majority of the Chinese who want to suppress it. If one brother goes and kills another and the parent has no power to prevent it, is it right that another man should come and aid and abet in the murder?

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## DESCRIPTIVE ARTICLE ON OPIUM.

FROM "CHAMBERS' ENCYCLOPÆDIA," 1874, VOL. VII.

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OPIUM, one of the most valuable of medicines, is the dried juice of the unripe capsules of a species of poppy, *Papaver somniferum*, sometimes called the common poppy, and sometimes the white poppy, although the latter name is really appropriate only to one of its varieties. The plant is probably a native of some of the warmer parts of Asia, although it is now common in cultivated and waste grounds throughout all the south and middle of Europe, and is occasionally found in Britain. It is an annual, varying in height from one to six feet, erect, branched, of a glaucous green colour, with ovate-oblong sessile leaves, the stem and leaves generally smooth, the branches terminated by large flowers on long stalks, the capsules globose or roundish-ovate and smooth. There are two principal varieties cultivated for the opium which they yield, which have been regarded by some botanists as distinct species; the one (*Papaver somniferum*) having generally red or violet-coloured flowers, numerous flower-stalks rising together, globose capsules opening by a circle of pores under the persistent stigma, and black seeds; the other (*Papaver officinale*) having white flowers, solitary flower stalks, the capsules somewhat ovate, the circle of pores almost wanting, the seeds white. The former variety is generally cultivated in the mountainous parts of the north of India, the latter in the plain of Bengal, where the poppy fields are described by Dr. Hooker as resembling green lakes studded with white water-lilies. The cultivation of the poppy for the sake of opium is carried on in many parts of India, although the chief opium district is a large tract on the Ganges, about 600 miles in length and 200 miles in breadth, which has been divided by the East India Company into two agencies, that of Behar and that of Benares, the central factory of the former being at Patna, and that of the latter at Ghazeepore. The poppy is also extensively cultivated for opium in the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, in Egypt, and in Persia. Opium of very good quality is also produced, although not to any considerable amount, in some parts of Europe, and even in Britain. It is sometimes alleged that a much warmer climate than that of Britain is requisite for the profitable production of opium, but the chief fault of the climate seems rather to be the frequency of wet weather. Very fine specimens of opium have been produced and the yield per acre has been found amply remunerative, but a great difficulty is experienced in obtaining labour at a moderate rate for a few days only at a time, and when the experiment is conducted on a small scale, even only for a few hours daily. This difficulty was much felt in an experiment—otherwise most successful—made at Edinburgh, by Mr. Young, a surgeon, who about the year 1830 obtained 56 lbs. of opium from one acre of poppies, and sold

it at 36s. a lb. It was of excellent quality. His mode of cultivation was similar to that usual in India. The seed being sown in spring on a rich soil, the plants were kept clear of weeds, and when they had flowered and produced capsules, incisions were made in the capsules, and the exuded juice collected as described below. The capsules vary from the size of a hen's egg to the size of a fist. In India the poppy flowers in the end of January and the beginning of February.

The poppy requires for its profitable culture, a rich soil, and in India it is generally sown in the neighbourhood of villages, where manure can be easily obtained. The soil ought to be fine and loose when the seed is sown. The subsequent labour consists chiefly in thinning and weeding. Irrigation is practised. Mild moist weather, with night dews, is deemed most favourable during the time of the collection of the opium. Very dry weather diminishes the flow of the juice, and much rain is injurious.

The opium poppy is cultivated for other purposes besides the production of opium. Opium, as a commercial article, is of great importance, exceeding, indeed, that of any other drug in use, and the cultivation of the opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) in British India forms a most extensive branch of agriculture, and the collection and preparation of the drug itself employs a large number of persons in the Patna, Malwa, and Benares districts of Bengal. Indeed, during the whole existence of the East India Company, the production of the drug was of the first importance; its employment as an habitual narcotic, as well as a medicine amongst all the Eastern nations demands an enormous supply. The seed is sown in India in the beginning of November; it flowers in the end of January, or a little later; and in three or four weeks after, the capsules or poppy-heads are about the size of hen's eggs and are ready for operating upon. When this is the case, the collectors each take a little iron instrument called a *nushtur*; it is made of three or four small plates of iron, narrow at one end and wider at the other, which is also notched like a saw; with these instruments they wound each full-grown poppy-head, as they make their way through the plants in the field. This is always done early in the morning, before the heat of the sun is felt; during the day the milky juice of the plant oozes out, and early on the following morning it is collected by scraping it off with a kind of scoop, called a *sittooha*, and transferred to an earthen vessel, called a *kurrace*, hanging at the side of the collector. When this is full, it is carried home and transferred to a shallow open brass dish, called a *thallee*, and left for a time tilted on one side, so that any watery fluid may drain out; this watery fluid is called *pusseewah*, and is very detrimental to the opium, unless removed. It now requires daily attendance, and has to be turned frequently, so as to dry equally, until it acquires a tolerable consistency, which it attains in three or four weeks; it is then placed in small earthen jars and taken to the *godowns* or factories; here the contents of each jar are turned out and carefully weighed, tested, valued, and credited to the cultivator. The opium is then thrown into vast vats, which hold the produce of whole districts, and the mass, after being kneaded therein, is again taken out and made into balls or cakes for the market.

This is a very important operation, and is conducted in long rooms, the workmen sitting in rows, closely watched by the overseers to insure



the work being carefully performed. Before each workman is a large tray, and within easy reach is placed the *tagar*, a tin vessel for holding as much opium as will make three or five balls. On this tray is also a basin containing water, and a smaller tray on which stands a spherical brass cup in which the ball is shaped. There is also a supply of thin skins of poppy petals, prepared by women in the poppy fields, and formed by laying the petals out, overlapping each other, and making them stick to each other by mere pressure. Finally, there is a cup filled with *lewah* made from opium of inferior quality. The workman begins by taking the brass cup and placing on its bottom one of the skins of petals, which he smears over with the *lewah*. He then adds another skin, causing it to overlap the first, and so on, until the cup is lined all over and a regular half shell of petals is thus formed ready to receive the opium, of which he takes the exact quantity, shaping it into a ball, and placing it into the shell. Another half-shell made in the same way as the first is now placed on the top, and the overhanging petals of the two are most cleverly interwoven, so as to form a regular ball of about six inches diameter, the shell itself being nearly half an inch thick. Each man's work for the day is kept by itself, and, after having been registered, it is taken to a vast drying-room where the balls are placed in tiers on lattice-work racks, and continuously turned and examined by boys to keep them free from insects. When sufficiently dried, these balls are packed into chests of forty balls each, and now the opium is ready for the market. The manufacture of opium is carried on to the greatest extent in India, but large quantities are also produced in Turkey, and this latter is considered the best in quality. Opium is also produced in Persia, and in Egypt; occasionally it has been produced in Germany, France, and England. Of the Indian opium there are several qualities, as Bengal, Patna, or Benares opium, Garden Patna, Malwa, fine Malwa, Cutch, and Kandeish opium.

The net opium revenue for India in 1871-1872 was £7,657,213; the gross receipts being higher than in any year since 1855. The number of chests sold was 49,695, at £139 per chest, or £26 higher than the previous year's average. The net profit was £90 per chest. The area under cultivation in Bengal and Bombay was 560,608 acres. Next to China, the largest consumption of Indian opium is by the Burmese and the natives of the Malacca Straits, who take annually to the value of nearly a million sterling.

In Europe, with very slight exceptions, opium is used for medicinal purposes only, and large quantities of it undergo a still further stage of manufacture, in order to extract from it the active principles, morphine, narcotine, &c. In Great Britain the chief manufacture of these salts of opium is carried on in Edinburgh, where two firms, Messrs. T. and H. Smith, and J. F. Macfarlan and Co., have attained great reputation, and manufacture these products upon an immense scale, supplying, probably, a fifth of the whole quantity manufactured.

*Chemical and Medicinal Properties.*—The only variety recognised in the British Pharmacopœia is the Turkey opium. The chemical composition of opium has been studied by various chemists, amongst whom must be especially mentioned Professor Mulder, of Utrecht, and Professor Anderson, of Glasgow. The following constituents occur in most kinds of opium:—

Organic Bases or Alkaloids.	Meconic Acid ... ..	3 H O, C <sub>14</sub> H O <sub>11</sub>	from 4 to 8 per cent.
	Morphia ... ..	C <sub>34</sub> H <sub>19</sub> N O <sub>6</sub>	„ 4 to 12 „
	Codeia ... ..	C <sub>36</sub> H <sub>21</sub> N O <sub>6</sub>	less than 1 „
	Thebaia ... ..	C <sub>38</sub> H <sub>21</sub> N O <sub>6</sub>	„ 1 „
	Papaverine ... ..	C <sub>40</sub> H <sub>21</sub> N O <sub>8</sub>	„ 1 „
	Narcotine ... ..	C <sub>46</sub> H <sub>25</sub> N O <sub>14</sub>	from 6 to 10 „
	Narceia ... ..	C <sub>46</sub> H <sub>29</sub> N O <sub>18</sub>	„ 6 to 13 „
	Meconine ... ..	C <sub>20</sub> H <sub>10</sub> O <sub>8</sub>	less than 1 „
	Resinous matter ... ..	... ..	from 2 to 4 „
	Caoutchouc ... ..	... ..	„ 4 to 6 „
	Mucilage, Gum, and Extractive Matters		„ 40 to 50 „

In addition to the six alkaloids named in this table, a seventh, named opianine, has been found in Egyptian opium, but in no other variety.

Some of the most important and characteristic of these constituents, as meconic acid, morphia, and narcotine, are noticed in special articles. The only isolated constituents of opium which are now used in medicine are *Codeia* (so called from the Greek word *kōdeia*, a poppy-head) which has been asserted by Magendie and others to act in the same manner as, although less powerfully than, morphia, but which is now seldom prescribed, as it is not a pharmacopœial preparation; and *morphia*, which has already been described.

The only test given in the British Pharmacopœia for the purity of opium is the determination of its percentage of morphia, which is a process requiring a considerable amount of chemical skill.

Following the arrangement adopted by Pereira (*Elements of Materia Medica*, 4th edition) which we have just quoted, we shall consider (1) the effects of one or a few doses of opium employed medicinally or as a poison; (2) the effects of the habitual employment of opium, either by chewing or smoking it; and (3) its good and bad effects on the different systems of organs.

1. In *small doses*, as from a quarter of a grain to a grain, it acts as an agreeable stimulant, this effect being followed by a desire to sleep, accompanied by dryness of the mouth and throat, thirst and slight constipation. When it is given in a *full medicinal dose* (as from two to four grains) the stage of excitement is soon followed by a well-marked depression or torpor, both of the bodily and mental organs, and an almost irresistible sleepiness; these effects being usually succeeded by constipation, nausea, furred tongue, headache, and listlessness. When it is administered in a dangerous or poisonous dose, the symptoms, as summed up by Dr. Christison in his work *On Poisons*, begin with giddiness and stupor, generally without any previous stimulus. The stupor rapidly increasing, the person becoming motionless and insensible to external impressions; he breathes very slowly, generally lies quite still, with his eyes shut and the pupils contracted; and the whole expression of the countenance is that of deep and perfect repose. As the poisoning advances, the features become ghastly, the pulse feeble and imperceptible, the muscles exceedingly relaxed, and, unless assistance is speedily procured, death ensues. If the person recovers, the insensibility is succeeded by a prolonged sleep, which commonly



ends in twenty-four or thirty-six hours, and is followed by nausea, vomiting, giddiness, and loathing of food.

2. The *habitual use of opium*, whether the drug be eaten or smoked, is undoubtedly, in most cases injurious to the constitution, although probably not to the extent that some eastern travellers assert. Dr. Christison, and other physicians of eminence, have shown that in numerous cases very large quantities of this drug may be regularly taken with impunity; and Dr. Chapman (*Elements of Therapeutics*, vol. ii., p. 199), relates two remarkable cases of this kind—one in which a wineglassful of laudanum was taken several times in the twenty-four hours, and another (a case of cancer of the uterus) in which the quantity of laudanum was gradually increased to *three pints* daily, a considerable quantity of solid opium being also taken in the same period.

*Opium smoking* is a habit that is chiefly confined to China and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. An extract, called *chandoo*, is made into pills about the size of a pea. The following is the account given by Marsden, in his *History of Sumatra*, of the process employed:—“One of these pills being put into the small tube that projects from the side of the opium pipe, that tube is applied to a lamp, and the pill being lighted is consumed at one whiff or inflation of the lungs, attended with a whistling noise. The smoke is never emitted by the mouth, but usually receives vent through the nostrils.” Although the immoderate practice of opium smoking is most destructive to those who live in poverty and distress, yet from the evidence of Mr. Smith, a surgeon resident at Pulo Penang, and of Dr. Eatwell, who passed three years in China, it does not appear that the Chinese in easy circumstances, and who have the comforts of life about them, are materially affected in respect to longevity by addiction to this habit.

3. As the discussion of the physiological action of opium on the different organs would, in its most condensed form, occupy too much space, we shall confine our remarks to the practical conclusions at which physiologists and physicians have arrived respecting the utility and the danger of prescribing this drug in various conditions of the principal vital organs.

*a. Cerebro-spinal System.*—Under proper regulations it is a remedy which may be used to stimulate the circulation within the cranium, to promote sleep, to diminish abnormal or increased sensibility, and to allay pain generally; while it is contra-indicated in apoplexy, cerebral inflammation, paralysis, and hysteria. Dr. Pereira relates a case in which *one grain* of opium, administered to an hysterical young woman, proved fatal.

*b. Digestive System.*—“Under proper regulations,” says Pereira, “opium is an admissible remedy for the following purposes: to diminish excessive hunger; to allay pain, when unaccompanied by inflammation; to diminish the sensibility of the digestive organs in cases of acrid poisoning, and in the passage of biliary calculi; to produce relaxation of the muscular fibres of the alimentary canal in colic, and of the gall-duets in the passage of calculi, and to diminish excessive secretion from the intestinal canal in diarrhoea;” while it is contra-indicated “in diminished secretion from the gastro-intestinal membrane,

in extreme thirst, in loss of appetite and weak digestion, in obstinate costiveness, and in diminished excretion of bile."

*c. Vascular System.*—In vascular excitement, with great diminution of power, as after hæmorrhage, opium is often serviceable; but when the pulse is strong as well as quick, or when there is simultaneously a tendency to abnormal sleepiness, it is contra-indicated.

*d. Respiratory System.*—"Opium, under proper regulations, may be useful to diminish the contractility of the muscles of respiration, or of the muscular fibres of the air tubes, as in spasmodic asthma; to diminish the sensibility of the bronchia in the second stage of catarrh, and thereby to allay cough by lessening the influence of the cold air; and, lastly, to counteract excessive bronchial secretion; while it is contra-indicated in difficulty of breathing, arising from a deficient supply of nervous energy, as in apoplectic cases; in cases in which the venous blood is imperfectly converted into arterial blood; and in the first stage of catarrh and pneumonia, both from its checking secretion, and from its tendency to impede the due arterialisation of the blood.

*e. Urinary System.*—Opium is a valuable remedy to allay the pain in the kidney and adjacent parts in cases of renal calculi, and also to produce relaxation of the ureters when the calculi are passing along these tubes; it is also of great service in certain forms of irritable bladder.

There can be no doubt that the essential and primary operation of opium is on the nervous system, the other effects being for the most part secondary.

Opium is undoubtedly the most valuable remedy of the whole materia medica. "For other medicines," says Dr. Pereira, "we have one or more substitutes; but for opium, none—at least in the large majority of cases in which its peculiar and beneficial influence is required." We not only exhibit it to mitigate pain, to allay spasm, to promote sleep, to relieve nervous restlessness, to produce perspiration, and to check profuse discharges from the bronchial tubes and intestinal canal; but we also find it capable of relieving some diseases in which none of the above indications can be always distinctly perceived. In combination with tartar emetic, it has been strongly recommended in fever with much cerebral disturbance; in association with calomel, it is the most trustworthy remedy in cases of inflammation of membranous parts; in insanity, its value cannot be overestimated; it is the remedy chiefly trusted to in delirium tremens; it is more serviceable than any other medicine in diabetes; and to conclude with a more common and less serious affection, its efficiency, when administered in small doses (as ten or fifteen drops of laudanum three times a day), in promoting the healing of ulcers in which granulation proceeds too slowly is very marked.

In addition to the solution of muriate of morphia, which, on the whole, is the best preparation of opium for internal use in the majority of cases, the British pharmacopœia contains an opium pill (containing one part of opium in five of the pill); a pill of lead and opium (chiefly used in pulmonary hæmorrhage); an aromatic powder of chalk and opium (containing one part of opium in forty of the powder); powder of ipecacuanha and opium (or Dover's powder, containing one part of opium in ten of the powder); powder of kino and opium (containing one part of opium in twenty of the powder, and, like the aromatic



powder, chiefly used in diarrhœa); tincture, and camphorated tincture of opium (commonly known as Paregoric Elixir, and much used in chronic cough, containing two grains of opium in the fluid ounce) ; in addition to an enema ; a wine (used chiefly as a local application to the eye in case of ophthalmia) ; an ointment of galls and opium (used as an external application to piles) ; and a liniment and a plaster, which are applied to remove local superficial pains.

In a case of poisoning by opium, the first and most essential point is the evacuation of the contents of the stomach. The stomach-pump, if it can be procured, should be employed, and strong coffee should then be pumped into the stomach after the removal of its contents. The next best remedy is an emetic of sulphate of zinc (about a scruple) and if this is not at hand, a dessert-spoonful of flour of mustard, stirred up in a tumbler of warm water, will usually produce the desired effect. The patient must, if possible, be prevented from falling asleep, and for this purpose he should be kept constantly walking between two strong men, while a third person in the rear should, at short intervals, flick him sharply with a rough wet towel, or (if procurable) a good birch rod. Cold water should also occasionally be dashed over the head and chest. In a few apparently hopeless cases, death has been averted by artificial respiration and by the application of electro-magnetism.

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## THE FIRST OPIUM WAR PLACED IN ITS PROPER LIGHT.

FROM J. R. McCULLOCH'S "DICTIONARY OF COMMERCE"  
(1854 EDITION).

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OPIUM. — German, *Mohnsaft*; French, *Opium*; Italian, *Oppio*; Spanish and Portuguese, *Opio*; Latin, *Opium*; Arabic, *Ufyoon*; Hindostan, *Ufeem*; Turkish, *Madjoon*. The concrete juice of the white poppy (*Papaver somniferum*), which is most probably a native of Asia, though now found growing wild in the Southern parts of Europe, and even in England. Opium is chiefly prepared in India, Turkey, and Persia; but the white poppy is extensively cultivated in France and other parts of Europe, on account of its capsules, and of the useful, bland oil obtained from its seeds. It has also been cultivated, and opium made from it, in England; but there is very little probability of its ever being raised here to any considerable extent. The poppy is an annual plant, with a stalk rising to the height of three or four feet; its leaves resemble those of the lettuce, and its flower has the appearance of a tulip. When at its full growth, an incision is made in the top of the plant, from which there issues a white milky juice, which soon hardens, and is scraped off the plants and wrought into cakes. In India these are covered with the petals of the plant to prevent their sticking together, and in this condition are dried, and packed in chests lined with hides and covered with gunny, each containing forty cakes, and weighing two maunds or  $149\frac{1}{8}$  lbs.; they are exported in this state to the places where the opium is consumed. Turkey opium is in flat pieces, covered with leaves, and the reddish capsules of some species of *rumex*; which is considered an indication of its goodness, as the inferior kinds have none of these capsules adhering to them.

According to Dr. A. T. Thomson, Turkey opium has a peculiar, strong, heavy, narcotic odour, and a bitter taste, accompanied by a sensation of acrid heat, or biting on the tongue and lips, if it be well chewed. Its colour when good is a reddish brown, or fawn colour; its texture compact and uniform. Its specific gravity is 1.336. When soft it is tenacious; but when long exposed to the air, it becomes hard, breaks with a uniform, shining fracture, is pulverulent, and affords a yellowish brown powder.

East Indian opium has a strong empyreumatic smell; but not much of the peculiar narcotic, heavy odour of the Turkey opium; the taste is more bitter, and equally nauseous, but it has less acrimony. It agrees with the Turkey opium in other sensible qualities, except that its colour is blacker and its texture less plastic, although it is as tenacious. Good Turkey opium has been found to yield nearly three times the



quantity of morphia, or of the peculiar principle of the drug, that is yielded by East Indian opium.

Opium is regarded as bad, when it is very soft, greasy, light, friable, of an intensely black colour, or mixed with many impurities. A weak or empyreumatic odour, a slightly bitter or acrid, or a sweetish taste, or the power of marking a brown or black continuous streak, when drawn across paper, are all symptoms of inferior opium.

The raising of opium is a very hazardous business ; the poppy being a delicate plant, peculiarly liable to injury from insects, wind, hail, or unseasonable rain. The produce seldom agrees with the true average, but commonly runs in extremes ; while one cultivator is disappointed, another reaps immense gain : one season does not pay the labour of the culture ; another, peculiarly fortunate, enriches all the cultivators. This circumstance is well suited to allure man, ever confident of good fortune.

In England, opium is little used, except as a medicine. During the three years ending with 1842, the quantity entered for home consumption amounted, at an average, to 44,683 lbs. a year. The principal part of our supply is brought from Turkey. Opium from the latter was worth, in the London market, in June, 1843, from 8s. to 8s. 6d. per lb.

*Consumption and Trade of Opium in China.*—Opium is pretty extensively used, both as a masticatory and for smoking, in Turkey and India ; but its great consumption is in China and the surrounding countries, where the habit of smoking it has become almost universal. The Chinese boil or seethe the crude opium ; and by this process the impurities, resinous, and gummy matter are separated, and the remaining extract only is reserved for use. Thus prepared, the drug loses its ordinary strong and offensive aromatic odour, and has even a fragrant and agreeable perfume. A small ball of it, inserted in a large wooden pipe, with some combustible matter, is lighted, and the amateur proceeds to inhale four or five whiffs, when he lies down and resigns himself to his dreams, which are said to have no inconsiderable resemblance to the sensations produced by inhaling the oxide of azote. Those who do not carry the indulgence to excess, do not, it is said, experience any bad effects from it.

Nine-tenths of the imports of opium for the consumption of China have always been derived from India, a comparatively small quantity only being derived from Persia. The trade has always been contraband, the introduction of the drug having been prohibited by the Chinese government. Until about 1810 the trade had not attracted much attention, or become of any very great importance, but it has since been very greatly extended, and has been since 1828 of first-rate consequence. The trade was at first carried on at Whampoa, about fifteen miles below Canton ; next at Macao, whence it was driven by the exactions of the Portuguese ; and, thereafter, in the Bay of Lintin. Here the opium is kept on board ships, commonly called receiving ships, of which there are often ten or twelve lying together at anchor. But latterly the trade has been carried on all along the south-east coast of China, by means of a species of fast sailing vessels called "clippers," built expressly for the trade and strongly armed. The sales are mostly effected by the English and American agents in Canton, who give

orders for the delivery of the opium ; which, on producing the order, is handed over to the Chinese smuggler, who comes alongside at night to receive it. Frequently, however, the smuggler purchases the opium on his own account, paying for it on the spot in silver ; it being a rule of the trade, never departed from, to receive the money before the drug is delivered.

During the first ten years of the present century, the exports of opium from India to China averaged about 2,500 chests, of 149½lbs. each. But after the introduction of Malwa opium into the markets of Bombay and Calcutta, the exports began rapidly to increase.

*Confiscation of Opium in 1839,—War with China.*—We have already seen that opium has always been prohibited in China, and that consequently its importation has always been looked upon as a smuggling speculation. There would seem, however, to be good grounds for thinking that the prohibition of the importation of opium was all along intended to be more apparent than real. At all events, it is certain that the trade grew gradually up, from a small beginning to be one of great extent and value ; and it is contradictory and absurd to suppose that this should have been the case had it encountered any considerable opposition from the Chinese authorities. But the truth is, that these functionaries, instead of opposing the trade, or even merely conniving at it, were parties to its being openly carried on, and received certain regulated and large fees on all the opium that was imported. It has even been alleged that a part of these fees found its way into the Imperial treasury at Peking, though that is more doubtful. The appetite for the drug increased with the increasing means of gratifying it ; and there appeared to be no assignable limits to the quantity that might be disposed of in the empire.

The rapid extension of the trade seems at length to have drawn the attention of the Court of Peking to the subject. We doubt, however, notwithstanding what has been alleged to the contrary, whether a sense of the injurious consequences of the use of the drug had much to do in the matter. This, indeed, is a part of the subject as to which there exists a great deal of misapprehension ; and we are well assured that, provided it be not carried to excess, the use of opium is not more injurious than that of wine, brandy, or other stimulants. The alarm of the Chinese Government was probably not so much about the health or morals of its subjects as about their bullion ! They are still haunted by the same visionary fears of being drained of a due supply of gold and silver that formerly haunted the people of this country. The imports of opium having increased so rapidly as to be no longer balanced by the exports of tea and silk, sycee silver began also to be exported ! The paternal Government of Peking might have tolerated what are called the demoralising effects of opium with stoical indifference, but the exportation of silver was not a thing to be endured. It is, however, only fair to state that the Chinese statesmen are not all of the school of Mun and Gee ; and that some of them appear to have taken an enlightened view of the question, and to have emancipated themselves from the prejudices that still influence the majority of their colleagues. The statesmen in question contended, that whether the use of the drug were injurious or not, the taste for it was too deeply seated and too widely diffused to admit of



its effectual prohibition ; and they, therefore, proposed that its importation should be legalised, subjecting it at the same time to a heavy duty. There cannot be a doubt that this was the proper mode of dealing with the subject. In the end, however, the Government of Peking, influenced by unfounded theories as to the mischievous effect of the export of the precious metals, came to a different conclusion, and resolved to put a stop to the traffic.

No sooner had this resolution been adopted than a most extraordinary change appears to have taken place in the conduct of the Chinese authorities, and their usual caution seems to have wholly deserted them. They now became as precipitate and violent as they had previously been slow and circumspect ; and resolved at all hazards to attempt forcibly to put down the trade. To accomplish this all foreigners were, in March, 1839, prohibited from leaving Canton ; and compulsory measures were at the same time resorted to for compelling them to deliver up the opium in their possession.

How the affair might have ended, had our countrymen at Canton been left to the exercise of their own judgment in this crisis, it is impossible to say ; but we have been assured by those on whose statements we are disposed to rely, that they would most probably have succeeded in getting out of it with comparatively little loss. Instead, however, of acting for themselves, they had to act in obedience to the orders of Mr. Elliot, chief superintendent of the British trade in Canton ; and he, while under constraint, occasioned by confinement to the factory, commanded all the opium belonging to British subjects to be given up to him for delivery to the Chinese authorities, declaring at the same time, that “failing the surrender of the said opium” the British Government should be free “of all measure of responsibility or liability in respect of British-owned opium.”

We do not presume to offer any opinion as to the necessity or policy of this proceeding on the part of the superintendent ; but, in consequence thereof, and of the unjustifiable proceedings of the Chinese, above 20,000 chests of opium were delivered up to Mr. Elliot by British subjects, and by him to the Chinese authorities ; and the latter, not satisfied with the possession of the opium, which it was their duty to have placed in a state of security till the matters with respect to it should be arranged, immediately proceeded to destroy it ! Having succeeded thus far, the Chinese next insisted that the foreign merchants should subscribe a bond, pledging themselves not to import opium into any part of China ; or that, if they did, they were to be justly liable to the penalty of *death*. But this condition being refused, and no arrangement having been come to, Mr. Elliot suspended the trade on the 22nd of May. Our readers do not require to be told that a war with China grew out of these extraordinary proceedings, which terminated in a treaty. Perhaps, however, we may be allowed, before dismissing this subject, to make a few observations on the grounds on which we undertook this contest, and which seem to have been a good deal misunderstood.

That the Chinese have the same right to exclude opium from their empire, that we have to prohibit the importation of beef, or ammunition, or to lay a duty on corn, does not admit of any question. But, in

endeavouring to suppress a trade that had been carried on under the sanction of the authorities at Canton, all of whom had largely participated in its profits, justice required that notice should have been given to the parties concerned of the intentions of the Government. It is necessary to bear in mind that the Chinese were in the habit of frequently issuing proclamations against the importation of opium ; but as no attempt was ever made to give any real effect to these proclamations, the parties engaged in the trade were naturally led to conclude that such would always be the case. Hence the necessity for a distinct intimation being made, that the laws against the importation of opium were, in future, to be *bonâ fide* and truly carried into effect, and for fixing some period, after which all parties found engaged in the trade would be subject to certain penalties. No valid objection could have been made to such a course of proceeding. The Chinese are clearly entitled to prohibit the importation of opium ; but neither the Chinese nor any other nation are entitled, after having, by a long connivance at and participation in the trade, induced foreigners to import a large amount of valuable property into their territories, to pounce upon and seize such property on pretence of its being contraband ! The Chinese are a remarkably clever people ; and it is impossible they should not see that, in this instance, their Government was guilty of gross injustice ; and that it consequently rendered itself liable for the value of the property it so unwarrantably seized upon and destroyed.

Suppose the British Parliament had, in 1796, passed an act prohibiting the importation of tea ; and suppose, farther that the collector of customs and other authorities in Liverpool had paid no attention whatever to this act, but that from 1796 down to the present day, they had openly countenanced the trade ; that it had rapidly increased, and that every year scores of Chinese ships laden with tea had arrived in the Mersey, safely unloaded their cargoes, and sailed either with silver or other British produce on board : what, under these circumstances, would the Chinese have said, had the British Government suddenly turned round and declared, “ You are engaged in an illegal trade ; ” and, without further intimation, have proceeded to seize and destroy all the tea belonging to them in England ? Would not the Chinese, the Russians, the French, and, in short, the whole world have declared such an act to be flagrantly unjust ? And would not every honest man in England have said that the Chinese had been swindled ; and, that the Government of China did not deserve to be treated with ordinary respect, if it did not endeavour to procure redress for its subjects.

Now, this is exactly the case of England against the Chinese. The morality or immorality of the opium trade is wholly beside the question. Though the use of opium were ten times more injurious than has ever



been represented, that would not alter the fact that the trade in it had been openly countenanced by the Chinese authorities for a period of more than forty years ; and such being the case, foreigners were certainly entitled to infer that that countenance would not suddenly be withdrawn ; and that, at all events their property would be respected. This, in fact, is not a question about which there is any real room for doubt or difference of opinion. The conduct of the Chinese was most unwarrantable ; and the Government of this country had not only a well-founded claim for redress, but was called upon to enforce it by a just regard for the national honour and the interests of the British subjects, whose rights had been so outrageously violated at Canton.

But we may further observe, in reference to this matter, that though it be laid down by all writers on public law, that it depends wholly on the will of a nation to carry on commerce with another, or not to carry it on, and to regulate the manner in which it shall be carried on, we incline to think that this rule must be interpreted as applying only to such commercial States as recognise the general principles of public or international law. If a State possessed of a rich and extensive territory, and abounding with products suited for the use and accommodation of the people of other countries, insulates itself by its institutions, and adopts a system of policy that is plainly inconsistent with the interests of every other nation, it appears to us that such nation may justly be compelled to adopt a course of policy more consistent with the general well-being of mankind. No doubt the right of interference, in cases of this sort, is one that should be exercised with extreme caution, and requires strong grounds for its vindication. But that this right does exist seems sufficiently clear. We admit that a slight degree of inconvenience, experienced from one nation refusing to enter into commercial transactions with another, or from its insisting that these transactions should be carried on in a troublesome and vexatious manner, would not warrant any interference with its internal affairs ; but this, like all other questions of the same kind, is one of degree. Should the inconvenience resulting from such anti-social vexatious conduct become very oppressive on others, the parties so oppressed would have as good a right to interfere to enforce a change of conduct, as if the State that has adopted this anti-social, offensive policy had openly attacked their territory or citizens. A State has a *perfect* right to enact such rules and regulations for its internal government and the conduct of its trade as it pleases, provided they do not exercise any very injurious influence over others. But should such be the case—should the domestic or commercial policy of any particular State involve principles or regulations that trench on the rights or seriously injure the interests of other parties, none can doubt that these others

have a right to complain ; and, if the injury be of a grave character, and redress be not obtained on complaint being made—no reasonable doubt can be entertained that the aggrieved party is justified in resorting to force.

These principles appear to apply with peculiar force in the case of China. Tea, a peculiar product of that country, has become a necessary of life in England, and no one can doubt that a most serious injury would be inflicted on the people of Britain were any considerable impediment thrown in the way of its importation ; and as the arbitrary policy of the Chinese Government, which is not influenced by the maxims, and is regardless of the forms, that prevail among civilised States, has on various occasions interrupted this trade, and constantly exposes it to great dangers, it certainly appears that this was a case for forcible intervention—*dignus vindice nodus*—and that we were entitled to demand that the trade should be placed on a solid footing, that the import and export duties should be rendered intelligible and moderate, and that an end should be put to the extortion and interference of the Chinese authorities.

*Indemnity for the Opium destroyed in China.*—The question as to the amount of the compensation that should be awarded to the parties who delivered up the opium to the superintendent in China, has since attracted considerable attention. The merchants contended that they were entitled to its cost, or to the price at which it had been invoiced to them, or to above £2,300,000. It is, however, admitted on all hands that the price of opium is exceedingly fluctuating, and that it is influenced in a very high degree by variations in the facilities for smuggling into China. And it was contended by Government that such were the obstacles thrown in the way of its clandestine importation when the delivery was made in 1839, that the price of opium had fallen to less than half its invoice cost, and that supposing the merchants had retained it, they must necessarily have sustained a very heavy loss. Having taken this view of the matter, Government proposed that indemnity should be made at the rate of £64 per chest (£1,250,000 in all) being (though little more than half the sum claimed) considerably above the current price of opium in Canton previously to its being delivered up. As might have been expected, this decision was much found fault with. On the whole, however, we think it eminently fair and reasonable. No one doubts, though not a pound of the opium had been delivered up to Captain Elliot, that its owners must in consequence of the increased difficulties in the way of its sale, have lost heavily ; and, under the circumstances, we see no ground for contending that Government was bound, because their agent had interfered, to place the merchants in a better position than they would have been in, but for that interference. All that they could justly require was, that it should not be permitted to injure them.

*Cultivation of Opium in India.*—*Monopoly.*—*Revenue, &c.*—Opium is produced in Bengal, principally in the provinces of Behar\* and Benares,

\* The opium of Behar is known in commerce by the name of Patna opium.



in parts of Bombay and in Malwa, in Central India. In Bengal the production of opium is a monopoly, no person being allowed to grow the poppy except on account of Government. The latter make advances to the cultivators, who deliver the entire produce into their hands at a fixed price of about 3s. 6d. per pound. It is afterwards sold by the Company for about 11s. per pound, so that the profit of the latter amounts to about 7s. 6d. per pound.

Opium may be grown and manufactured in Bombay; but it is subjected to the same high duty that is imposed on opium imported into the Presidency. The object of this high duty is to "discourage its production." Government purchase what little is produced in Bombay, supplying through licensed dealers all that is required for home consumption.

The poppy is extensively cultivated in Malwa, in Central India, and yields a large revenue. Down to 1831, it was produced under a monopoly. But, in that year it was thrown open to the public, and the revenue collected by imposing a duty on the opium when passing through the Company's territories to Bombay. The capture of Scinde, by closing the route for the smuggling of opium through Kurrahee to the Portuguese settlements of Demaun, &c., enabled a large addition to be made to the transit duty on Malwa opium, which was raised in 1847 to 400 rupees per chest, affording a revenue to Government of about 5s. 8d. per lb.

No one doubts that opium is an excellent subject for taxation; and the higher the rate to which the duty on it can be raised without encouraging smuggling, so much the better. But a great deal has been said for and against the system under which the opium revenue is raised in Bengal and other parts of India; and, perhaps, it might be the better policy to open the culture of the plant to the unfettered competition of the public, imposing a high duty on the drug when grown or when exported. Without, however, entering on the discussion of this difficult question, we may shortly observe that the monopoly does not appear to have the consequences stated by Mr. Colebrooke; who tells us, that, except in a few situations that are peculiarly favourable, its culture is unprofitable; and that the peasants engage in it with reluctance, being tempted thereto only by the advances made by the Government agents. But if such were the case formerly, it would seem that circumstances have changed in the interval; for, it appears from the official accounts, that the production of Bengal opium, which amounted to 17,858 chests of 160 lbs. each in 1840-41, had increased to about 36,000 chests in 1848-49. The number of chests of Malwa opium (140 lbs. each) exported from Bombay during the same period has continued pretty stationary at about 16,000 a year. The whole, or nearly the whole, of this immense supply of 50,000 chests, is sent to China.\* Latterly it has produced to the Government of India a clear revenue of considerably more than £3,000,000 sterling a year.

The poppy is said to succeed remarkably well in China. And, if such be the case, and its culture should, as is anticipated, be legalised

\* In 1851-52 the exports of opium from Calcutta for China amounted to 32,306 chests. We have not seen any account of the export from Bombay during the same year; but it may be safely estimated at 17,000 or 18,000 chests.

in that empire, the measure, it is plain, will have a very important influence on India as well as on China.

It is very doubtful whether the use of opium, when taken in moderate quantities, be so injurious as has been represented. That it may, like spirits and wine, be abused, is abundantly certain; but it has not been shown that it is more liable to abuse than either of these articles. And the Chinese, by whom it is principally consumed, are a highly industrious, sober, and frugal people.

N.B.—With respect to all the figures, please remember that this article refers to a period of fully thirty years ago.

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## THE CULTIVATION OF OPIUM IN INDIA.

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ALTHOUGH the foregoing two chapters already contain some information on this particular subject from two different aspects, I deem it necessary to say a few words about it from a third point of view.

Unlike the valorous gentleman, who addressed to me the letter as at foot,\* I always made it my particular study not only to read whatever comes within my reach in the shape of publications on the part of my opponents, but also to attend their meetings whenever able to do so.

Thus it happened that, from one of the speakers at the last May meeting at Exeter Hall, I gathered some particulars, which, to a certain extent, make up for Don Sinibaldo de Mas' inability to give us his own figures respecting the quantity of food that could be grown on a given extent of land, as compared with its production of opium.

In the course of his speech at the above-named meeting, Mr. David McLaren stated that "the Government grant licenses to persons who apply for them, or who can be induced to apply for them, to grow the poppy in land that is fit for the purpose; and with the license which the Government give there is an advance of money without interest; and not a farthing do they give for any other agricultural purpose. The condition is that every drop of poppy-juice, which the cultivator extracts from the poppy-head must be delivered up to the Government agent, under a very heavy penalty, and that, at a price not fixed by mutual bargaining, but fixed by the Government. At this time it is five shillings for the pound-weight. He accordingly brings it to the Government, and the Government manufacture the opium, and pack it in chests of 140 lb. weight, and then sell it by their broker at Calcutta. The cost to the Government of a chest of opium, on the average of the last ten years, has been £41 10s., of which £35 or more goes to the cultivator. The balance is the expense of manufacture and sale. For that chest of opium, costing £41 10s., they have obtained on the average £127. The profit of £85 upon £41 10s. constitutes the Bengal branch of the opium revenue." And towards the end of his speech he further remarked that, "an acre of the best land in India, plentifully irrigated and highly cultivated, produces—what do you think? Less than 13 lbs. weight of opium. I turn up a volume issued by the Government of India itself on 'The Opium Question,' and I find there a statement that if an acre of such land had been devoted to the growth of cotton, it would have produced 285 lbs. of cotton and 706 lbs. of cotton seed. If planted with potatoes, it would have produced nearly three and a half tons of potatoes. The exact quantity is 7,680 lbs. The quantity of wheat is not given, but from calculations, which I

\* Upper Clapton, 10 m. 30, 1883.

Sir,—I have been out for a few days, and find thy letter now. I am an active and ardent member of the Anti-Opium League, and do not of course wish to read thy book, which I fear may do harm.

Respectfully,

S. A.

have made, I believe that little less than a ton of wheat could be produced from the same quantity of land ; but the Government ask them, as a favour, to turn out 13 lbs. of poison.

With respect to the first of these two paragraphs pointing out the extraordinary profit resulting from this Indian Opium Monopoly I feel sure that Mr. McLaren's comprehensible figures will make many a reader's mouth water, the more so because these figures are perfectly in harmony with facts.

As to his second statement, viz., that only 13 lbs. of opium are to be obtained from each acre under poppy cultivation, I feel certain that some mistake or other must have crept into Mr. McLaren's calculations, since in the article which I reproduce from Chambers' Encyclopædia we see it clearly stated that 56 lbs. of opium were obtained by Mr. Young, of Edinburgh, from his one acre of poppy plants, notwithstanding all the difference which there is between the climate of the two countries.

For once, however, let us assume that those 13 lbs. are the real figure, when it will be found that at the Government price of 5s per pound the ryot thus receives, partly in advance, but free of interest, £3 5s. for each acre under cultivation, as against a supposed cotton crop of 285 lbs., at say 3d. per lb., "value on the spot," thus being worth £3 11s. 3d., but without the advantage of any such cash advances, and therefore most probably subject to a very material reduction in the shape of heavy interest charged by the money-lending country banker of India.

While speaking of cotton Mr. McLaren takes very good care to mention the "seed" derived from the cotton plant, whereas in the case of the poppy he entirely overlooks the same. As to weight I should think that the yield in "poppy seed" is at least fully equal to that of "cotton seed," while on the other hand it is considerably more valuable because yielding an edible oil, besides leaving a final residue in the shape of a cake most useful for cattle feeding purposes.

In the case of the poppy cultivation there remains yet the one great advantage to be taken into account, that the whole plant, even its root included, becomes available on the spot for manuring purposes, while last, but not least, there is ample time afforded for the raising of some light after-crop, as soon as the poppy plant has been pulled out of the ground.

Leaving entirely out of consideration the £6 to £7 per acre of clear profit resulting to the Government out of this particular culture, I venture to argue that even with no more than 13 lbs. of opium the ryot fares at least as well with this crop as he would do with Mr. McLaren's supposed cotton crop, while certainly relieved of both the risk and the trouble of having to look out for a purchaser of his produce.

I deem it superfluous to dwell upon that purely speculative crop of Mr. McLaren's, viz., those *three tons and a-half of potatoes per acre*; first because I never have heard as yet that the "potato" ranges to any considerable extent amongst the staple food of India, and secondly because if meant by him to be grown for purposes of export, I should think that this imaginary "potato" would be eaten up altogether by the cost of its very carriage long before having had even the chance of leaving the country.



Since we have it in Mr. Tong King Sing's own words that the opium crop is by far the best paying one in China, we may fairly assume that such is the case also for India in general, and more particularly so for the districts under Government management and producing the Patna and Benares opium, which two qualities, on account of their superiority and consequent higher price, may be considered as being consumed chiefly by the upper classes of China, who alone can afford to buy a ball at a time, which, weighing nearly 4 lbs., costs more than 15 dols., while exactly constituting the proper quantity to be easily manipulated by one man in the process of preparing from it the smokeable extract.

As these upper classes are known to prepare their own smoking extract, just the same as we roast our own turkey at Christmas, and would not think of buying it by the pound "ready roast," any change in this Indian Government monopoly would thus affect almost exclusively those upper classes of China, since the lower ones patronise the stronger and coarser kinds of Malwa, Persian, and their own native opium.

My kind-hearted friends, the Anti-Opium Leaguers, therefore, are agitating entirely for the supposed benefit of "the mandarins, the gentry, and the literati," who most likely would feel the very reverse of grateful for such a questionable service, if to be rendered to them at all.

Before concluding this chapter I have to state yet that I fully agree with every word said by Cardinal Manning at the beginning of his speech at that famous Mansion House Meeting, as reported on page 11, but only just up to that rare "Nero" allusion of his, which, together with the "impending sword" and all the rest, I must leave to the reader's appreciation.

With my practical knowledge of business matters in general, and my special experience in this particular drug, I think I can fairly undertake to guarantee that the immediate result of the "*abolition*" of this much abused Indian monopoly would be that the very evil now complained of, would, within a very few years, double or even treble in extent, since with an acknowledged cost of the Indian drug of only 5s. per lb. there would be no longer any chance for the Chinese own grown article to keep up its present and increasingly successful competition.

In the end the Chinese opium smoker would thus simply find the cost of his pipe reduced below one-half of its present price, and most likely he would soon smoke proportionately more of the drug than now.

As to that childish illusion of the "*entire suppression of the opium trade*," I am not inclined to waste here either time or space upon such an utter absurdity.

The opium exports from India for the last\* eight seasons (between Patna, Benares, and Malwa opium) were as follows :—

1874-75	...	94,746 chests	...	£11,956,972
1875-76	...	88,350 „	...	11,148,426
1876-77	...	96,870 „	...	12,404,748
1877-78	...	92,820 „	...	12,374,355
1878-79	...	91,200 „	...	12,993,979
1879-80	...	105,507 „	...	14,323,314
1880-81	...	92,190 „	...	13,600,148
1881-82	...	89,338 „	...	12,432,142

# THE CULTIVATION OF OPIUM IN TURKEY AND PERSIA.

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## I.—TURKEY OPIUM.

As, notwithstanding my thirty years' experience in this particular growth of the drug, I never had the good luck to fall in with any proper descriptive account of it, I must try to say a few words about it myself as best I can.

Perfectly ignorant as to the time at which Turkey opium may have become an article of export, I simply begin by stating that in 1854, when I entered this trade, from 1,500 to 2,000 chests were considered a fair average crop, the bulk of which quantity was shipped to Europe and America, then chiefly, if not exclusively, for pharmaceutical purposes, while the rest found its way to the Straits Settlements and other places in the East.

At that time Asia Minor was the only part of Turkey producing opium, and Smyrna was the only market for the drug, for though Constantinople always received a small portion of it from such of the producing districts as are either bordering on the Black Sea or else situate closer to the metropolis than to Smyrna—the quantity thus reaching Constantinople until recently was far too small to constitute a market, and therefore was thence shipped to London for sale, when not sent to Smyrna for still speedier realisation.

The compulsory examination of every single chest immediately before its leaving Smyrna rendered the business in this article one of comparative safety, because as a natural consequence of this examination the quality of the drug was kept up to as regular a standard as was practically possible from season to season, and this feeling of security no doubt contributed a great deal towards the gradual extension of the trade. Importers here and in America knew beforehand what they were going to receive for their money, and therefore had no desire to try other qualities. The business of those days compared to that of our present time was a very smooth one, requiring in fact no knowledge of the article, since the examiner was there to take care of the well-established reputation of the Smyrna market. By whom this important functionary was appointed I never could learn, but I heard it mentioned several times that it was even an hereditary institution, and since the export duty on the article was collected at the very time of the examination, this functionary partook something of a Government official, besides acting as a perfectly independent third person between buyer and seller, who treated with each other through their respective brokers.

This almost absolute security of former times as to the quality of the



article, most likely had also something to do with the fact that the British Pharmacopœia ever adopted Turkey opium for its "standard quality" to the exclusion of all other growths of this drug—which in our days is nothing short of a perfect anomaly.

For years things went on in this satisfactory style, the demand steadily increasing, and the production, with the exception of occasional short crops, keeping on a fair level with it. From 4,000 to 5,000 chests were now the ordinary figures of the yearly turn-over, and besides a small quantity of Persian opium received *viâ* Constantinople, and here and there an occasional few cases of the Egyptian drug, no other qualities of opium were to be seen on our market.

All at once a complete change set in. For some reason or other—most likely pressure for money on the part of the Government—the hitherto existing export duty was changed into a tax levied on the article at the very moment of its entry into Smyrna from the interior, thus doing away with that salutary examination of the drug immediately before its shipment abroad. The Smyrna merchants—never slow in adapting themselves to circumstances—now were furnished a first-rate opportunity of handling the article without any immediate fear of being found out in doing so. Adulteration became the rule of the day, and, because practised moderately at first, it was attended with complete success. However, as "*l'appétit vient en mangeant*," some of the parties engaged in this well-paying new industry grew bolder and bolder, until at last we received ever-increasing quantities of mere rubbish, hardly deserving any longer the name of opium, though always of more or less decent external appearance, for which reason detection was rendered all the more difficult, because the former security offered by that compulsory examination had prevented most of our buyers here from acquiring any real knowledge of the drug, thus rendering them quite unfit to judge for themselves.

Many a considerable parcel was thus reshipped from here to distant markets in the fullest confidence of the quality being on a par with its look, but on reaching the consumer was at once rejected by him, and thus had to be returned. At one particular time more than one-half of our stock consisted of these so-called "puddings," which naturally ended in most disastrous losses to the parties concerned. Thus, in a few years, Smyrna had not only seriously, and, as I fear, permanently, impaired her former good reputation, but also directly contributed towards the successful introduction of Persian, and, even of Malwa opium, which latter had never before appeared on our market. Moreover, Constantinople secured an increasing share in the trade, in consequence of the cultivation of the poppy having taken a fair footing in the meantime also in Turkey in Europe, and even Salonica became a shipping port for this new growth of the drug. Thus it happened that of the largest crop ever on record for Turkey opium, *i.e.*, that of 1881, with an estimated total of 12,000 cases, no less than 2,500 fell to the share of Constantinople, while about 500 were the portion of Salonica.

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## II.—PERSIAN OPIUM.

FROM THE "BOMBAY GAZETTE SUMMARY," SEPTEMBER 17, 1875.

THE following report on the cultivation and exportation of opium in Persia is very instructive. The Government of India have probably already noticed the neat way in which the duty leviable in India on foreign opium is avoided, involving, as the process does, a voyage to Suez.

Opium is cultivated principally in Yezd and Ispahan, and partly in the districts of Khorasan, Kerman, Fars, and Shusther. The opium grown in Yezd is considered to be better than that grown in Ispahan and elsewhere, owing to the climate and soil of that place being better adapted for the growth of the poppy. But the district of Yezd, notwithstanding the existence of a large cultivable area, is not capable of any considerable extension of the cultivation of opium, owing to the insufficiency of the means, both natural and artificial, of irrigation. Ispahan, however, differs from Yezd in this latter respect, as it abounds in streams and rivers, and is capable of greater extension of the cultivation of the drug. But the cultivation of cotton and cereals takes up a large part of the available land, and tends in no small degree to reduce the culture of opium. A few years ago, the profits of the opium trade having attracted the attention of the Persians, almost all available or suitable ground in Yezd, Ispahan, and elsewhere, was utilized for the cultivation of opium, to the exclusion of all cereals and other produce. It was then supposed by some that the opium cultivation would be indefinitely extended in Persia. But circumstances eventually showed that such could not be the case. The attempt of the natives to enrich themselves by the cultivation and growth of this profitable article of trade and their utter neglect to provide for the necessaries of life, combined with drought and other circumstances, resulted in the famine of 1871-72. The costly experience then gained has made the Persians more careful and provident, and they are now using a limited space for the cultivation of opium. The largest crop they had in Persia, a few years ago, did not exceed 2,600 cases, and it has since fallen to some 2,000 cases. The quantity exported during last year, viz., between 1st January and 31st December, 1874, was 2,002 cases. The probable export for the year 1874-75 is estimated at 2,030 cases. The crop is gathered in between May and June, and the greater part of it finds its way to the shipping ports between September and January. These shipping ports are Bushire and Bunder Abbass. The whole produce of Ispahan and Fars is brought to Bushire. The produce of Khorasan and Kerman is taken to the Yezd market, and together with that of Yezd itself is sent partly to Bushire and partly to Bunder Abbass. The opium has hitherto been carried by English steamers running monthly between England and the Persian Gulf. The portion which is intended for China is transhipped at Suez on board the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers. This route is selected with a view to avoid the heavy duty levied at any port of British India. Persian



opium, it is said, is not much liked in China, owing to its having a peculiar flavour caused by the admixture of a large quantity of oil during the process of preparation, and, owing also to its being sometimes found adulterated. It, however, finds a somewhat better market in London, inasmuch as it contains, on an average, a large quantity of morphia. The greater part of the Persian opium taken to London is thence sent to the Continent and to America. Prior to the opening of steam communication on the Persian Gulf, some opium used to be sent from Persia, *viâ* Trebizonde to Constantinople, whence it found its way to the Continent. But that route has since been given up altogether. About 100 cases of opium (in cakes) are brought annually to Persia from Herat. This is taken to the Yezd market. From Yezd also a quantity of opium prepared in the shape of small sticks or cylinders is sent for consumption in Herat. A small quantity of stick opium is consumed in Persia itself. No opium whatever is known to be imported into Persia from other places.

N.B.—During the last few years the cultivation of Persian opium has increased so considerably, that from 4,000 to 5,000 chests are now looked upon as an average crop, the one for the year 1881 having even exceeded 7,000 chests. The most remarkable feature in connection with this growth is that, contrary to the general rule, its quality is steadily improving, thus rapidly bringing it into favour all over Europe for manufacturing purposes as well as for export to Central and South America.—ED.

Just before going to press I came across the following tabular statement of the exports of Persian opium from the two Gulf ports, which statement speaks for itself:—

For the 1871-72 season ...	...	...	870 chests.
„ 1872-73 „ ...	...	...	1,400 „
„ 1873-74 „ ...	...	...	2,000 „
„ 1874-75 „ ...	...	...	2,030 „
„ 1875-76 „ ...	...	...	1,890 „
„ 1876-77 „ ...	...	...	2,570 „
„ 1877-78 „ ...	...	...	4,730 „
„ 1878-79 „ ...	...	...	5,900 „
„ 1879-80 „ ...	...	...	6,100 „
„ 1880-81 „ ...	...	...	7,700 „

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## MR. TAINTOR ON NATIVE OPIUM.

FROM THE "CHINA OVERLAND TRADE REPORT," AUGUST, 1874.

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MR. TAINTOR, Commissioner of Customs at Newchwang, makes the following remarks with reference to the above article :—

"This is entitled to the first place among the topics of a general character appropriate for discussion in a report on the trade of this province, both from its intrinsic importance and interest, and from the increasing attention which has lately been drawn to it here. The cultivation of the poppy in South-Eastern Mongolia and Central Manchuria began about ten years ago ; but it was not until 1867 that it had reached such dimensions as to attract the attention of those interested in the trade of the foreign drug. In that year it was first offered for sale at Yingtze, at a price about 30 per cent. lower than Indian opium. The extent of ground cultivated, in spite of repeated Imperial edicts which have been issued forbidding the practice, has steadily increased, with the partial effect, as has already been shown, of diminishing the import of foreign opium, although this decrease has not been in proportion to the production of native drug. It is impossible to give a trustworthy approximation of the annual production, estimates a few years since varying from 300 to 1,000 piculs. The latter is likely to be nearer the present figure than the former. The profits arising from the cultivation of the poppy are said by those engaged in it to be actually tenfold greater than those accruing from grain and pulse. This is a sufficient explanation of the rapid extension of poppy planting, which it was known was going on in the portions of Mongolia and Manchuria above mentioned ; but during the summer of 1872 the first decided check to this extension seems to have been given. In the spring of that year, Po Wang, the prince of the Korchin tribe of Mongols (within whose territory a considerable portion of the cultivated tract lies), having observed, while on a journey to Peking, how large a portion of the ground was being devoted to the cultivation of the poppy, reported the facts to the Emperor in a memorial, which in response called forth an edict ordering the destruction of the entire crop then growing. A report to this effect reached Yingtze at the end of June. Although the edict has not been observed in the *Peking Gazette*, there have been abundant proofs that credence and weight were given to it by those affected by it. The first effect here was to cause a sudden advance in the price of foreign opium, of which large purchases were made by native dealers at the increased rates. It was further stated that officials had been specially appointed to see that the destruction of the crop was carried out. Of course, in an extensive and not densely populated district of country, the execution of an order of this character is extremely difficult ; and when the ease with which a bribe might be expected to purchase immunity, and the likelihood of a poppy field



being overlooked, are considered, it might reasonably be anticipated that the order would remain quite without effect. In this instance, however, it is beyond question that this presumption did not hold good. During the autumn I made repeated inquiries over a portion of the region above mentioned, where the cultivation had been extensively carried on, and although I observed everywhere a general unwillingness to converse upon the subject, and met with constant evasion of my inquiries, the ultimate deductions to be drawn from a comparison and sifting of the varied and conflicting statements made, were in confirmation of what has just been said. Although the cultivation of the poppy had always been declared to be illegal, the great profits accrued from it tempted people to disregard the prohibition and escape the consequences, if any followed, by such means as lay in their power; but during the early autumn of last year, just as the opium was ready to be gathered, a large portion of the poppy plants were destroyed by the officials, and the ground re-planted with late vegetables and buckwheat. Another cause still further reduced the supply of the drug. The excessive rains in the early autumn injured or destroyed many of the fields which, from their secluded situation or other reasons, had escaped the hands of the officials; and yet in spite of the great scarcity of the article, which resulted from these causes, its price advanced at the time only 15 or 20 per cent. The reasons for this are to be found in what follows.

“The proportion of opium smokers in this province was probably less than in any other of the sea-board provinces of the Empire. There are fewer large towns and cities, where the majority of smokers are to be found, and opium was slower in finding its way into the remote agricultural districts. It was estimated by Mr. Macpherson, after careful inquiry, that since the opening of this port to foreign trade the number of smokers in this province had already trebled by the end of 1867. When, finally, the cultivation of the poppy was introduced, and this comparatively cheap native product was to be bought on the spot, the temptation to experience the effects of the fascinating drug induced very many persons, who otherwise would never have even thought of touching foreign opium, to make a trial with that of home growth. Native opium, however, is coarser and more fiery than Indian, and its flavour altogether inferior; moreover, it was gradually found out that its continued use gave rise to disagreeable and troublesome eruptions of the skin. This has created a growing disinclination to use it, and has even prevented the recent scarcity from enhancing its price as much as otherwise it would have done. The habit of smoking, once contracted, is not so easily broken off again; while a resort to foreign opium, even for a few days only, was generally found to cure those ulcerous sores produced by the native drug. It will thus be seen that the introduction of the cultivation of opium into this province has resulted only in a partial decrease in the demand for the foreign drug. Its most important effect, however, has been to largely increase the number of smokers, and owing to the above-referred-to necessity of occasionally resorting to the use of the foreign article in order to cure those ill-effects of the native one, the otherwise rapid decrease in the demand for the former is most materially checked. In brief, people who would shrink from making a beginning with the foreign opium, are tempted from some reason or

other (perhaps from some patriotic feeling), to do so with the native drug. Then follow these disorders of the skin which drive them over to the temporary use of the foreign stuff, and the final result is, that the consumption of both qualities is keeping at a certain pace with each other. Another point to be considered is the fact that it is necessary to smoke a greater quantity of the native than of the foreign opium in order to produce the desired effect, so that an occasional advance in the price of the former brings the ultimate cost of the luxury for both qualities to very much the same level, when smokers naturally give the preference at once to the latter. Finally, as the craving for the opium pipe grows stronger in the course of time, it soon is no longer satisfied with the weaker native drug, and the temptation for a permanent resort to the foreign opium arises. Thus it frequently happens that people who began with the native article finally abandon it entirely for the Indian opium. Should the cultivation here again be allowed to be carried on without restriction and prices consequently revert to the former level, the number of smokers of it would undoubtedly soon increase."

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## MR. DONALD SPENCE ON NATIVE OPIUM.

FROM THE "CHINA OVERLAND TRADE REPORT," SEPTEMBER 29,  
1882.

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THE following is a *résumé* of the report of Mr. Donald Spence, her Majesty's acting Consul at Ichang, on the above subject :—

The main facts regarding native opium on the West are in sum these—

First, Szechuan alone produces yearly not less than 177,000 piculs (picul =  $133\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. Avdp.) of opium, and the whole of South-West China, including Szechuan, not less than 224,000 piculs. The exact figures cannot be ascertained, but they are probably higher. The limit of profitable cultivation is infinitely far off.

Second, the cultivation in Szechuan and Yunnan is neither interfered with nor discouraged, nor even taxed by Government. It is free and open to all. It has for years been so, and is affected only by natural causes, the law of demand and supply, calculations of profit and loss, and conditions of soil and weather.

Third, no Indian opium is consumed in all this region, although opium-smoking, it may without exaggeration be said, is a universal practice. In addition to supplying its own wants, Szechuan exports enormous quantities to the East, where it is smoked by the poorer classes.

Fourth, the payment for this export at present tends to derange the currency of the province and impede trade—a state of things which can only be transitional, and which improved communications and transport would soon do away with.

Fifth, in transit opium affords a valuable revenue to the Government, to the Szechuan provincial exchequer, a net sum of not less than 1,500,000 taels ; to the Hankow maritime customs revenue, a yearly increasing export duty ; to the exchequers of the other provinces which it passes through or is smoked in, dues varying from 10 taels to 25 taels per chest.

Sixth, "nowhere in China are the people so well off, or so hardy, and nowhere do they smoke so much opium." Thus write Baber, Richthoven, and other travellers of Szechuan ; this, I may add, is the general experience up to this time.

Although these facts speak for themselves, I may be allowed to add one or two obvious inferences. Were Indian opium the fatal poison and scourge in the East which sometimes it is asserted to be, one ought to find in the West, where tenfold more opium is smoked, a debased, debilitated, and impoverished people ; while on the contrary it is notorious that the reverse is the case, and that the people, both in body and estate, are amongst the most prosperous in China. Unless it can be proved

that Indian opium contains some noxious principle which does not exist in the Szechuan drug, the hypothesis of the "*fatal poison*" is open to the gravest doubt. So far as my own experience goes, I have seen on a Saturday night in the streets of a large town in England more vice-born misery and more emaciated faces than I did in four months in the greatest opium-smoking province of this Empire. The ordinary Chinese opium-smoker is no more a "victim" to opium than a navy is a "victim" to his daily quart, and such part of the general flow of sympathy in England for misery in foreign lands as is given to him might well be retained at home for worthier objects. Again, if it be remembered that a great extent of the province of Szechuan is under opium cultivation, that the industry is now a livelihood to countless families, that its product is deemed by millions to be essential to their daily happiness, the difficulty of putting down the cultivation by force is apparent. The right of the people to grow and to smoke opium has been for years unquestioned by their officials ; to compel them to surrender the right now, would be to provoke a rebellion. Even if the Government were willing to incur this risk, and determined to be rid of opium, which it would be at present nonsensical to affirm, success would require a vigorous executive, free from these faults. But China has no such executive and no such armies. Of the local official class, their attendants, hangers-on, and constables, it may truly be said that if there is one quality more conspicuous than their venality, it is their love of opium smoking. Even if the prospect of a *bonâ fide* effort were not a mere chimera, its ultimate success would be impossible.

Under these circumstances it is easy to see what would be the practical effect of the rigorous prohibition of opium cultivation in India, and the attempted exclusion by China of all foreign grown opium. Its effects on opium smoking in Yunnan, Kueichow, Szechuan, Kansuh, Shensi, and Western Hupei, where Indian and foreign opium are all but unknown, would be *nil*. Amongst the poor smokers in the East, who now use the native drug, its effect would be equally *nil*. Many who now use Indian opium would take to native, and one effect would be to give a great stimulus to the production in the West. But well-to-do smokers in the East and sea-board provinces, amongst whom I include all who at present spend 10d. a day on Indian opium, would everywhere seek for the superior foreign opium. Smuggling would thus be organised all along the coast ; Chinese desperadoes would find in European and American adventurers willing associates in running foreign opium into the country ; the maritime customs service would have to become an armed force, quiet seaports would be turned into hells of disorder, and international relations between China and foreign Powers be embittered to an intolerable degree. The opium which could not be grown in India, would come in part from Turkey and Persia ; new fields for its growth would be opened up in Mozambique, and similar latitudes in Africa ; and the profits of the trade, instead of passing as they now do towards the support of our beneficent rule and civilisation in India, would become the incentive to, and the reward of, lawlessness, disorder, and crime.

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## NATIVE GROWN v. FOREIGN OPIUM.

FROM THE "CHINA OVERLAND TRADE REPORT," MAY, 1874.

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As might have been anticipated, Mr. Gubbay's report on Opium cultivation in China, transmitted through Mr. Medhurst to the Government of India, has attracted a considerable amount of attention in that country. So large a portion of the Indian revenue depends on this one article, that Indian statesmen, whatever their views, cannot afford to leave it out of their calculations; while the cultivation occupies so much of the soil, and utilizes so much labour, that any serious interference with the outturn of the crop would affect large and varied interests. As more especially connected with the import of the drug into China, Mr. Gubbay's views may be guessed at. They cannot however be classed as extreme. He does not put in that strange claim for beneficial effects from opium which has brought ridicule on some arguments in favour of the trade, nor does he attempt to state the amount of injury inflicted by the use of the pipe. "*The peculiar circumstances of the Chinese people, probably the nature of the climate, certainly the listless and hopeless manner in which the system of Government forces them to pass their lives, have caused the use of the opium pipe to become a matter of necessity to a large portion of the nation. Some cause or other certainly must influence the Chinese in this their strange and irresistible devotion to opium, the result of which is that, assisted by the vacillating policy of the Government, there is grown in more than one province in China a quantity of opium rivalling the whole crop of British India; and the assertion is ventured that, if this supply from British India were entirely cut off, there would not be one smoker the less in China.*" Under these circumstances, it is urged that the moral question has merged in the economic. We are powerless to help the one, but we can to a certain degree affect the other. In fact, the moral aspect of the opium question has assumed much the same aspect as have similar points in other countries. Bass, Allsopp, and Guinness sit in the British House of Commons as respected members, yet malt liquor is susceptible of abuse. Great Britain, from fiscal as well as moral reasons, forbids the growth of tobacco in the United Kingdom, yet the importer of the "weed" is not handed over to public detestation. In fact the same difficulty arises over and over again as to the point where repression ceases to be useful or advisable. Vices there are, the forcible repression of which would be far more disastrous than their acknowledgment and regulation; and it is an open question how far opium has entered into this category.

That Mr. Gubbay should place the matter in a favourable light is only what might be anticipated from the antecedents of the house which he represents; and though our own ideas may differ from his, we are

by no means prepared to accept the views of Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his school of forcible repressionists. Mr. Gubbay's report urges that the greatest amount of harm possible has already been inflicted, and that, to a great extent, owing to the policy, or rather want of policy of the Chinese Government. Every step taken by that astute body to interfere with the import or use of opium by its subjects has had the effect of directly encouraging its growth in China; so that now, far from being a luxury to be purchased at a high price, the poppy is one of the ordinary crops of the northern provinces of China, as well as of Mongolia and Manchuria. We fear there is too much truth in this statement of the case. With the one hand the Chinese Government has occupied itself writing moral diatribes against the vice of opium smoking, and drawing up elaborate proclamations against poppy cultivation, while the other has been more constantly occupied in receiving bribes to permit the infraction of both. "Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth" is a good scriptural admonition, but we doubt if it ever has been applied in such a manner before. The practical result is that Chinese opium vies with Indian in the markets of China. Already at the ports, signs are noticeable of a keen competition, and even at a short distance inland the multitudinous bribes and squeezes to which every commodity is subjected in China effectually shut out the foreign article. Mr. Gubbay urges that the inferior quality and comparatively high price of the Chinese grown opium show that the soil is not suitable to its production, and that therefore there must be a waste of productive power. The Chinese Government possibly thinks (if it think at all on such subjects) that the amount of money sent out of the empire to pay for opium is a drain on its resources. Political economy denies the truth of such a conclusion; but even granting its admissibility, there may be worse evils than sending the precious metals out of a country. The worst of the present system is, that it leads the peasantry to despise a Government whose acts are so strangely at variance with its professions, and that by taking off all effectual check on the growth or use of the article, it actually places the temptation at every man's door. A more perfect system for debauching the nation could scarcely be devised.

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## EXTRACTS FROM "ACROSS CHRYSE."

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN (SAMPSON LOW AND CO.).

PAGE 87:

THE passports inspected, eager questions were shouted as to what we were going to do at Tai-Wong. On the tin-chai answering that we were English gentlemen of the *litterati* class, on our way to Yunnan for the object of gaining information like their own savants (Heaven forgive the slyness!) this reply was received with derision, and the rabble roared out, "They are two missionaries who are come to build a church here!" The tin-chai explained that we were not desirous of even landing at Tai-Wong, and that we were going straight to Yunnan. On the magistrate seeing the Viceroy's letter to the Prefect at Pe-sê, the tin-chai was advised to go no further. *In the end the news spread that we were not missionaries, and the people were quieted.* The magistrate, however, begged us not to land as the people were unmanageable, and there might be some danger of a riot.

Page 190:

In the evening we anchored a little above Shung-lam-hû, a market town on the north bank, with a somewhat prosperous air. Above this the character of the country, next the river, completely and suddenly altered. As if by magic, the jagged, black rocky gorges and pinnacled ranges vanished and gave place to a scene of cultivated beauty, which had the resemblance of a fairy scene. On the gently-sloping and undulating banks, fields of wheat and Indian corn alternated with the red poppy, which we now saw for the first time, balanced on long slender stalks, in fields of beautiful green. Every inch was availed of for cultivation, literally down to the water edge; and buffaloes were wearily dragging the rude native plough, within a few feet of the river.

The hills, which retire some distance on either side, are "rolling" or undulating in character, and covered with a heather-like cover. The lower slopes and the small detached hills, skirting their basis, were ablaze with a beautiful purplish-pink blossom, called locally the "red flower firewood." Between the hills and the river rice cultivation, in plots, breaks up the level appearance of the ground, and there are numerous hamlets, enclosed in thick clusters of trees with beautiful foliage. The whole forms a joyous scene, which speaks of peace and prosperity, widely different from the rocky gorges and crumbly cities which we had left behind.

Parts of this portion of the river, with its waving fields, verdant vegetation, beautiful wooding, and here and there what resembles a charming bit of lawn down to the water, might—but for the buffaloes ploughing, a few peasants with their sun-hats, and a joss-house perched on a bend in the bank—be a sunny bit of the Thames or the Seine.

The poppy shoots out in January and the harvest is gathered in May. It seems wonderful that it should thrive here in the low plain level, and also in Yunnan at heights which must be some five or six thousand feet above this. The poppy grown here and at Pe-sê, however, is said to yield an inferior quality to that of Yunnan, which is the narcotic generally in use.

Foreign opium seems practically not to be known in these regions, and is certainly not used by the bulk of the people. According to the statements of the inhabitants here, Yunnan opium seems to have been consumed for two generations at least by the people of Kwang-si.

While here wishing to avoid any lengthy discussion of the opium question, the fact that the consumption of the native drug for so long a period has existed, and does still exist, to the exclusion of foreign (Indian) opium proves that the sweeping imputations made against the foreign trade in this article, so far as it concerns this part of Southern China, are not borne out by facts, and are convincingly disproved by our journey up the river.

It seems indisputable that however desirable the abolition of the use of opium may be (and I have lived in a country—Burmah\*—where its injurious character has been illustrated in a marked and painful degree, now happily being remedied) the cessation of its production in India would mean no alteration in the present degree of consumption in inland Southern China, while for the rest of the Empire it cannot be doubted that Yunnan and other provinces would supply the increased demand.

The foreign opium is preferred, on account of its stronger flavour and greater narcotic power, by those who can afford it; but should this not be procurable, whether from its prohibitive cost or suppression of the trade, the native drug would take its place without a shadow of a doubt. The use of the "*foreign*" drug is merely a fashion. I think it most probable that the Government of India will ere long have to meet the difficulty of the loss of revenue derived from opium, on account of the Chinese using in increased quantity the native product, which is being greatly improved.†.

\* In Burmah the drug is chiefly, if not exclusively, taken by the mouth or swallowed.—ED.

† The last conclusion of the author, I think, has to be received under reserve because of the very vagueness of his term "foreign drug." If thereby Patna and Benares are meant, I simply would venture to predict that "no China grown opium" will ever come near the peculiarly fine "bouquet" of either of these two qualities, the merit of which lies entirely in their extreme mildness combined with "real aroma," while Malwa is a very coarse, but at the same time considerably stronger article. Persian opium, owing to its comparative cheapness, is chiefly used for mixing purposes, while a peculiar acridness of its own renders it almost unfit for use by itself. Turkey opium, so far at least, has scarcely met with any demand from China proper, because far too strong and of a headache-giving tendency.

A sample of "Chinese grown opium," only recently received by me through the extreme kindness of a friend of my Hong-Kong correspondents, enables me to further state that, quite irrespective of its demerits as to both flavour and strength, the proportion of "prepared" to be obtained from it—i.e., its "touch"—is so very considerably below the "touch" of all other qualities, that under this heading alone there is room for an improvement of from 25 to 50 per cent.

Considering, moreover, that out of a yearly turnover in this drug with China of say twelve millions sterling, no less than eight millions are clear profit accruing therefrom to the Indian Government, I venture to say that the margin is quite ample enough to face any competition from the native drug, should this ever become necessary.—ED.



## THE MANDARINS' VIEW OF THE CULTIVATION OF OPIUM.

FROM THE "CHINA OVERLAND TRADE REPORT," JULY, 1874.

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By one of those peculiarities which mark the *Peking Gazette*, the reply of the Government to Tso Tsung-tang's Memorial regarding opium cultivation in Kansuh, appeared before the original report. A perusal of the latter will be more instructive than the reply. There was, it seems, more reason for the punishment of the four Mandarins than would readily be surmised from the reply, and the policy of Tso bears a better interpretation than was naturally affixed to it from the perusal of the Rescript. The Viceroy's work in this case was, it seems, different from that of the Powang, to which we alluded some three years ago, inasmuch as he has not confined himself to forbidding the growth of opium, a task in which he could not hope to be successful, but has set himself to introduce in its stead the cultivation of a crop which, if successful, would tend much to the advantage of the province. In resettling the districts lately in occupation of the insurgents, Tso has been anxious to replace the cultivation of opium by that of cotton. Although the climate of Kansuh is not of the mildest, he hopes that on the southern slopes of the hills, cotton will grow, and as these are the localities now occupied by opium, he sees in this substitution of a useful for a noxious crop, a means of ameliorating the condition of the people. However, the four above-mentioned Mandarins seemed to have put themselves forward to interfere with the scheme.

For them opium was the more profitable crop, because having been forbidden, it enabled them to squeeze the cultivators with impunity, while Tso's idea of lending aid to the cultivation of cotton would, so far from filling, have a tendency to empty their pockets.

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## A HINT FROM A EUROPEAN MANDARIN.

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As an old subscriber to the *China Overland Trade Report*, of Hong Kong, I was struck one morning—while reading a leader on “The Report of the Trade of China for the Year 1879”—to see a certain name mentioned therein, which, because both scarce and confined to the immediate neighbourhood of my native place in Switzerland, I felt sure could refer to no one else but an old schoolfellow of mine, whom I had lost sight of entirely ever since the year 1856, when he left Liverpool for some place in the West Indies.

The mere prospect of thus being afforded a rare opportunity of obtaining additional and first-rate information, with respect to my article, determined me at once to write to this supposed friend of mine, and to make use of the editor of the said Hong Kong periodical as the best medium for the transmission of my letter.

Six months later on, and after having already given up all hope of ever hearing anything at all in the matter, I was most agreeably surprised to receive a letter, bearing the Peking post-mark.

The writer of this letter, my old schoolfellow of course, after first explaining the involuntary delay in his reply, due to his promotion from Shanghai to Peking, and next giving me a short account of his extraordinary career in the flowery land, then entered into my several inquiries as follows :—

### “TRANSLATION.

“My present position of Acting Statistical Secretary to Mr. Robert Hart, Inspector-General of Customs—not to say anything about my special obligations as a Mandarin of the third degree—does not admit of my entering into either the ‘merits’ or the ‘demerits’ of this opium question, while about the article itself, in its purely commercial aspect, you will gather from the several printed reports, which I forward to you per book-post, all the information I could give you about it.

“I therefore confine myself to a few remarks on that Don Sini-baldo reprint of yours, which I have read with particular interest.

“Making due allowance for the time at which this chapter on opium was written, I think the same ‘still remains a very fair *exposé*’ of the subject, while under present circumstances I am particularly struck by the peculiar ‘clairvoyance’ of this ‘Don’ with respect to his predicted ‘*general increase in the consumption,*’ as well as his hinted-at ‘*possible development of the home production*’ of the drug.

“On the other hand, I could not help laughing when I came across that statement of the ‘two millions of annual deaths resulting from opium smoking,’ which statement reminded me at once of our homely expression : ‘Der kann lügen wie nur ein Missionär lügen kann’ ! \* while

\* “He can tell fibs as only a missionary can pass them off.”



from its very boldness I venture to conclude that it must have originated with an 'American' missionary, unless, indeed, it had grown in size on its way homeward, like an avalanche.

"Owing to my statistical turn of mind I reckoned at once what our present death rate would come to on the basis of these two fancy millions, when I found it would now make no less than ten millions of deaths per annum!

"My calculation is simple enough. At the time when Don Sinibaldo wrote his chapter on opium the imports of Indian opium were below fifty thousand chests, with next to no acknowledged home production here. At present the imports from India are, in a round figure, say, one hundred thousand chests, while our home production is variously estimated at from as much as to twice the foreign importations, which would bring the total consumption of the article to between four and six times the quantity of what it was at the time of the floating of this huge '*canard*.' By taking the average between these two figures you arrive at five times those cracked two millions, or my above figure.

"All I can state from my own experience in this respect is, that I never have either known or heard of any death directly resulting from the habit of opium smoking, though, on the other hand, it is not at all of rare occurrence that the very preparation of the drug is made use of for suicidal purposes, by swallowing a fatal dose of it. You must be aware of the fact that the Chinese are both inveterate and reckless gamblers, and as such naturally exposed to sudden and utter pecuniary ruin, when the preparation intended for the pipe simply takes the place of the 'razor' of the European suicide. It even happens pretty often that the quantity of opium necessary for such a purpose is furnished to the 'intending suicide' by one or more of his friends through kindness.

"This is about all I have to say with respect to your Sinibaldo 'reprint,' while as to the missionary himself it would require both too much time and space to go into the subject properly, my feelings in this respect being rather strong.

"It suffices to say that he, the missionary, is considered here as a most '*cordially*' *hated intruder* (if I may so express myself), who would not be tolerated for a single day were it not for the treaty protection which he enjoys, and but too often also abuses, being thus looked upon far more in the light of a '*truly forced on*' treaty article than even your opium, so much so, in fact, that I have no doubt whatever that a pretty heavy money premium of so much per head would most willingly be submitted to in any part of China for his removal hence, for once and for ever."

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## A DEFENCE OF OPIUM SMOKING.

FROM THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE," NOVEMBER 13TH, 1879.

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OPIUM smoking is viewed with such horror by a large class of persons that anything said in its favour is not likely to raise the practice in general estimation ; Consul Gardner, nevertheless, in his trade report on Chefoo, for the past year, boldly comes forth to defend it. As the question of the morality of the opium trade in China seems, he says, to be exciting much attention at home, and as influential persons have expressed opinions on the subject founded, he conceives, on misinformation and misconception, a few facts may not be out of place.

Opium smokers are of three classes :—1st, occasional smokers ; 2nd, habitual smokers who smoke in moderation but have not got a craving ; 3rd, habitual smokers who smoke in excess and have a craving. When it is said of a Chinaman that he smokes opium ; it is meant that he belongs to the third class, just as with us the expression that a man "drinks" means that he drinks too much. Sir Thomas Wade is stated to have estimated the number of opium-smokers in China to be five per cent. of the adult population. If this estimate includes the first and second class, Consul Gardner thinks it is too low ; if it refers only to the third class, he would say it was too high. The average amount of Indian opium consumed in China is about 12,000,000 lbs. per annum, and probably 5,000,000 lbs. more of native opium is produced. In smoking only a portion of the opium is consumed : the ash is re-prepared, and yields fifty per cent. of opium. It is this ash that enables the opium saloon to sell the preparation apparently at cost price, the ash paying for the light, attendance, house-rent and profit. Deducting the unconsumed opium, few moderate smokers consume more than a pound and a-half a year, while the most immoderate smoker does not consume more than four pounds ; and it would probably be about correct to reckon half a pound per head as the average annual consumption of all classes of smokers. This would bring the number of smokers up to about half the adult population. Then the question arises, "If opium smoking is the great evil it is represented to be, how is it that after so many years no inherited ill effects are visible ?" Most of our medical knowledge has been obtained empirically, and the greatest achievements in the sciences of chemistry and physiology often consist in merely giving the reason for facts already known by experience. Physiology teaches us that the length of the intestines in an animal is correlated with its diet ; vegetable feeders have long, and animal feeders have short intestines. The length of the intestines in man shows that a due admixture of animal and vegetable food is the diet best suited to him. In China the population lives almost entirely on vegetables. Opium smoking "slows" the processes of digestion, and, in fact, has the same effect as long intestines, and, consequently, is



highly beneficial. Again, the Chinese live in undrained grounds, and in conditions favourable to ague and low types of fever. It is well known that under similar circumstances the inhabitants of the lowlands of Lincolnshire took to landanum. It is not surprising that the Chinese should take to opium in another form. Every foreign resident in China is struck with the comparative immunity of the population from diseases of the bronchial tubes and lungs. That this immunity is not due to climatic influences is clearly proved by the fact that Europeans and Americans are not more free from the scourge there than in their own countries. Morphine is known to be an anæsthetic. It is probably, also, in the rarefied form of smoke, an antiseptic. In this form it would tend to arrest the suppuration of the lungs that takes place in consumption. The effect of bad habits often brings on a tendency to consumption, acquired personally or inherited. Early marriages in China cause bad habits to be less rife there than in England or America. Now, a fair test of the above theories would be supplied by a class of natives who were married late and were debarred from opium smoking. The Protestant Christians supply exactly this test. No opium smokers are allowed the privilege of membership of the Church, and early marriages among them are greatly discouraged. The out-door games and occupations which impart a healthy tone to the minds and bodies of our youth of both sexes are not resorted to by the Chinese. Bad habits would consequently be more prevalent among those who married late, and the result is precisely what might be expected: "An enormous percentage of the deaths of native Protestant Christians due to consumption." During Consul Gardner's residence in China he has spent much time in visiting the opium shops of the large towns and small villages in many parts of the empire, entering into conversation with the customers. He was surprised at the large numbers who told him that their first motive for smoking was to check the spitting of blood, to which they had become subject. Consul Gardner, at the end of 1865, being attacked with a severe fever, which left him so weak that he gave up all hopes of recovery, felt justified in trying upon himself the experiment of immoderate opium smoking. He gives an interesting account of the results of this indulgence—one among them being "utter indifference to cares and anxieties." He suddenly gave up the habit and suffered severe physical pain for three days, and discomfort at irregular periods for over two years; but no mental depression. That many individuals suffer in health from excess in opium smoking is incontrovertible; but the number of these, he is inclined to think is not so great as imagined. The denouncers of the drug are apt to get under the influence of a fixed idea, or, to speak in vulgar parlance, "they get opium on the brain," and whenever they see a person unwell who happens to be an opium smoker they at once attribute his illness to his habit of smoking opium—"Post hoc, ergo propter hoc." On the other hand, it is equally incontrovertible that thousands of hardworking people are indebted to opium smoking for the continuance of lives agreeable to themselves and useful to society.

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## DR. AYRES, COLONIAL SURGEON, OF HONG KONG, ON OPIUM SMOKING.

FROM THE "CHINA OVERLAND TRADE REPORT," JULY, 1878.

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As regards opium smoking, no prisoner, who confessed to being an opium smoker, has been allowed a single grain in the gaol. Neither has he had any stimulant as a substitute, and I do not find there has been any evil consequence in breaking off the habit at once, nor that any precaution has been necessary, further than a close attention to the general health. Several very good specimens of opium smokers have come under my observation. One was the case of a man whose consumption had been two ounces a day for nineteen years, and who was allowed neither opium nor gin, nor was he given any narcotic or stimulant. For the first few days he suffered from want of sleep, but soon was in fair health, and expressed himself much pleased at having got rid of the habit. I am no advocate for opium smoking. My experience of it is that it may become a habit, but that that habit is not necessarily an increasing one; nine out of twelve men smoke a certain number of pipes a day, just as a tobacco smoker would, or a wine or beer drinker might drink his two or three glasses a day without desiring more. I think the excessive opium smoker is in a greater minority than the excessive spirit drinker or tobacco smoker. In my experience, the habit does no physical harm, in moderation. In the greatest case of excess just mentioned at the gaol, a better nourished or developed man for his size it would be difficult to see. With the morality of the opium smoking question I have nothing to do; no doubt it is a costly luxury, and when indulged in, even to a small extent by a poor man, it by no means increases the comfort of his family; but as far as my experience goes, and I have had good opportunities for judging, there is no great difficulty in breaking off the habit. I have seen many cases of excessive smoking in men who could afford to spend large sums on the vice. At the Tung Wah Hospital the stranger may at any time see the most dreadful and ghastly-looking objects, in the last stages of scrofula and phthisis, smoking opium, who had never previously in all their lives been able to afford the expense of a pipe a day, yet the European visitor leaves the establishment attributing to the abuse of opium effects which further enquiry would have satisfied him were due to the diseases for which the patients were in hospital. From what I have seen there, there is no doubt that the advanced consumptive patient does experience considerable temporary relief to his difficult breathing by smoking a pipe of opium, though it is a very poor quality of drug that is given to patients at the Tung Wah Hospital. I do not wish to defend the



practice of opium smoking, but in the face of the rash opinions and exaggerated statements in respect of this vice, it is only right to record that no China resident believes in the terrible frequency of the dull, sodden-witted, debilitated opium smoker met with in print, nor have I found many Europeans who believe they ever get the better of their opium smoking compradores in matters of business. I have conducted my observations with much interest, as the effects of opium eating were well known to me by my many years' experience in India, and I have been surprised to find the opium smoker differs so much from the opium eater. I am inclined to the belief that in the popular mind the two have got confused together. Opium smoking bears no comparison with opium eating. The latter is a terrible vice, most difficult to cure, and showing rapidly very marked constitutional effects in the consumer.

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FROM THE "OVERLAND CHINA MAIL" OF AUGUST 2ND, 1883.

In his report for 1882, Dr. Ayres, colonial surgeon, thus refers to the health of opium smokers admitted to gaol :—

Table XI. *C* gives a list of the opium smokers received into the gaol and reporting themselves as consumers of one mace and upwards of opium daily. It gives their age, number of years they have contracted the habit, their consumption of opium per diem, weight on admission and for the four following weeks if detained so long. None of them were ever permitted to have opium in any form ; those who were sick were treated on the merits of their cases, and some were in a terrible condition of disease. There have been no deaths among them, and I have not found any cases of disease among them that could be attributed to their indulgence in the habit of opium smoking.

As near as I can make out 110 pounds is about the average weight among ordinary Chinese prisoners of all classes received into gaol ; if anything I think this average is rather above than below the mark. Taking picked men of the largest size and well-developed, as regards muscle, it is rare to see the scales turned above 130 pounds. The opium smoker is of all classes ; the greatest smokers are men who can afford the expense, and are generally more fat than muscular, but I cannot find that opium smoking causes emaciation in any way. In judging from the reduction in weight in this table, the change of diet on entering gaol must be taken into consideration, and none of these men were excused from the regular dietary scale without good and sufficient reason, other than that of opium smoking ; as a matter of fact, very few were excused at all, or had their labour reduced. Nearly all of them had to undergo penal diet, that is to say, in the month their weights were taken they did two spells of five days each on rice and water only, as every prisoner has to do every month under six months' imprisonment. Under these conditions it would have been thought that all would have lost flesh, but curiously enough that is not so, even in the cases of those who it might be supposed from their weight were accustomed to better food outside, so that loss of weight cannot be put down to deprivation of opium.

The heaviest smoker was the fourth on the list, his daily consump-

tion being fifteen mace or 150 grains ; he had been an opium smoker for thirty years ; he comes into gaol weighing 107 pounds, does not lose weight at all, but in three weeks rises to 110 pounds, at the end of the fourth week weighing the same.

It appears to me that the opium smoker suffers much less from the enforced deprivation of the accustomed luxury at once than the tobacco smoker. Many of them make no complaint at all ; there is no particular symptom caused by the deprivation, which is common to all. There is certainly no loss of sleep to any extent, for I have had many of them specially watched. Yet, according to statements made by the Anti-opium League, they ought to have suffered tortures ; but then it is the custom of the Anti-opium League to repeat and believe all the yarns they hear, and not to take very much trouble about verifying them. Physicians of hospitals at home are easily misled by patients, where the watching is at any rate much better than in any hospital in China ; and yet to read the accounts by the physicians themselves of how they have been imposed upon for a considerable time by patients is quite sufficient to show how easily an old opium smoker could bamboozle a physician in a China hospital. In the gaol it can also be done, but it is not so easy where they are watched day and night by European warders. And this is the only gaol in China that affords such facilities for watching such a number of opium smokers.

I am still of opinion that there are few subjects concerning which so much nonsense has been talked, or so many false impressions disseminated as about opium smoking, which from all I can gather seems in itself a most harmless practice. I am not talking about the money squandered or families impoverished by the luxury indulged in by the bread-winner. The same may be said of the gin-drinker, but no one can say that the gin has no evil effect as a poison itself on the gin-drinker. I contend that opium smoking has no effect whatever on the opium smoker. Here we have given four different preparations of opium to old opium smokers. First, opium as prepared by the opium farmer, which contains seven per cent. of morphia ; secondly, the opium farmer's prepared opium with ten per cent. of morphia added ; thirdly, similar prepared opium with twenty per cent. of morphia added ; fourthly, the opium farmer's prepared opium deprived of its morphia. Now the opium smoker states that the first and third are "good," that with the morphia extracted, "fairly good, but not so good as the first and third." Number two, with the ten per cent. of morphia added, is said to be "not very good." Now the opium smoker cannot detect any difference between the farmer's prepared opium containing seven per cent. of morphia, and the same with twenty per cent. of morphia added ; nor does he detect much difference between those two and opium with all the morphia extracted. That is to say, he hardly recognises any difference between twenty-five per cent. of morphia in the drug and none at all, and does not recognise any difference at all between seven per cent. of morphia and twenty-five per cent., which he certainly would do if he ate it. In fact, the great principle of the opium, morphia, in smoking seems to vanish, certainly it in no way affects the smokers.

Now I have had opium eaters under my care in gaols in India and Assam, and among Khalassic crews on board ship, and if they had been



deprived of their opium, as the opium smokers have been, the consequences would have been serious.

I can also speak from personal experience. I have eaten opium till I could consume half an ounce daily, and I can understand the fascination of that habit, and fully appreciate the difficulty of leaving it off. I have myself smoked three mace of the opium farmer's prepared opium within an hour without the slightest effect. I have watched other Europeans do the same, as they admitted, to their astonishment, with no effect either. I counted their pulses and took their temperature, neither of which were altered by smoking in the slightest degree.

Three mace is equivalent to twelve pipes, and a pipe every five minutes is certainly more than a smoker could get through had he to load for himself. The actual smoking is but three long inhalations to each pipe, but the loading takes time. An old opium smoker always prepared our pipes for us, and watched that they were fairly and properly smoked.

No opium smoker among the Chinese smokes with the idea of procuring sleep ; being naturally tired, he may take a pipe or two before going to sleep, but with no intention of helping him to sleep.

An opium smoker visits a friend who offers him a pipe, and they lie smoking and chatting between the pipes for hours, just as a European offers wine to a friend. The Chinaman does not expect his visitor to go off to sleep and snore like a hog any more than the European expects his friend to get drunk and make a beast of himself.

That it is costly and expensive as a habit there is no denial, and in order to procure this luxury, unless a well-to-do man, the Chinaman must deprive himself and his family of many comforts and necessities. A consumption of fifteen mace a day means an expenditure of \$1.20 daily, or \$438.00 a year, say £80. One mace of eight cents' worth of opium daily is equal (allowing thirty days to the month) to \$2.40, a pretty hole in the income of a man who earns, say six dollars a month, and many smoke that amount who earn a good deal less than six dollars a month.

So far, what I have said concerning opium smoking in my reports has dealt with facts and figures known to myself to be correct ; I have given nothing on hearsay. A man of the Western races who would take to such a habit as opium smoking must be a miserable object, a habit that requires you to muddle away more than an hour loading a pipe in order to get five minutes' smoke, for each pipe takes about five minutes to load and less than thirty seconds to smoke. One can understand a tobacco pipe that will last half an hour, takes only a few seconds to load, and will allow you to read, write, and do a hundred other things at the same time—at least I can, being a smoker myself ; but the opium smoker is a complete puzzle to me, to find out what pleasure he derives from the habit ; all I can see in it is a waste of time and money.

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## DR. MYERS, OF TAKOW, ON OPIUM SMOKING.

FROM THE "CHINA OVERLAND TRADE REPORT," OCTOBER, 1881.

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DR. MYERS, of Takow, has contributed to the last issue of the Customs Medical Reports an interesting account on opium smoking in China. During the last ten years he has closely investigated the subject, and he claims to speak from a disinterested point of view. In Formosa a large proportion of the inhabitants, who were either immigrants or the descendants of colonists from the mainland, smoked opium; and in the south part of Chêkiang the well-to-do persons who could afford it smoked opium to an extent that justified the worst that had been said of its effects, while the majority, the poorer people, only used it moderately, and many years of usefulness were thus enjoyed ere that condition was attained which called for commiseration. Idleness was a great prompter to excess in the passion, but though excessive smoking might hasten the effects of a general moral depravity, he was inclined to think that the fearful vices described as its results were not caused by the use of the drug in the majority of cases. The first moderate use of the drug did not cause the man to feel much the worse for it, and when afterwards he increased his consumption of opium, he went by degrees to that condition in which he passed from the world unregretted. Most smokers alleged that there was a point to which a smoker might indulge with almost absolute impunity, and it was only when that was exceeded that disastrous consequences resulted, but that which the Chinese called a healthy condition it is probable we should describe differently. In the great bulk, the poorer classes, who only indulged to a small extent, there were but very few cases of disastrous excess to be found, and there were case after case of men who had smoked for years who had showed little or no signs of mental or physical degeneration; and the coolies alleged that they carried on their labours which were extremely heavy, with more comfort by taking an unvarying small quantity of opium every day. Of course there were some who were unable to use the drug with moderation, but he believed that the smoking of opium did not tend to so much excess as the stimulants used by other nations. He believed a physiologist could, perhaps, imagine a condition induced by arduous physical or mental toil where the use of opium might even be beneficial, or at least by imparting comfort, its injurious effects, if any, be neutralised, and the Chinese poorer classes were industrious and laborious to a degree. He would not go into the question whether, in view of the immensely preponderating amount of opium cultivated in China, there was reason for the sensitiveness of the national conscience with regard to the Indian drug as some thought proper. In his opinion, the opium sot had a decided advantage over the drunkard, not being noisy, quarrelsome, and often dangerous, as the latter was. The effect of opium "eating" was vastly more injurious than of "smoking" it. He feared that the greatest bar to putting down the use of opium in China was the despotism of fashion, and though medical treatment might cure a man, the temptation caused by others round him smoking and inviting him to smoke, would probably draw him back to the habit.



# OPIUM SMOKING IN CHINA FIVE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

BY DR. MACGOWAN.

FROM THE "CHINA OVERLAND TRADE REPORT."

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IN a verbal communication that I submitted not long ago to the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, I gave information on the introduction of opium into China during the reign of Tai-tsu (1280-1295 A.D.), and of its cessation at the commencement of the Ming dynasty (1368), but not being able to procure the work from which that information was derived, I had some misgivings as to its authenticity, and requested sinologues to institute enquiries on the subject. To-day I find in the *Hsin-pao*, the organ of the Taotai, full confirmation of that remarkable circumstance in Chinese history.

In the department of Lienchau, in the Kuang-tung province, peoples' clothes were stained by a red shower. The narrator of the account refers to other phenomena of the same kind not at all unfrequent in Chinese annals, and he closes by referring to a red shower heaven-sent in answer to prayer, which rendered opium putrid and offensive, and stating further that this evil entered China after the return of Kublai Khan from his Indian campaign. Up to the close of the dynasty its use was excessive throughout the empire; all classes, scholars, husbandmen, proletariats, and traders were all addicted to opium-smoking. Besides being sold in shops, it was hawked about by pedlars for a few cash. On the accession of Tai-tsu, everything was put to rights, save only the evil of opium smoking.

The Emperor consulted Earl Liu Powan, who recommended praying to heaven, and he prayed accordingly, when red rain fell, and the opium became putrid, causing griping pains and vomiting, and the people ceased smoking the poison. So far the *Hsin-pao*. The writer of the article apparently drew his information from a work on the Tuen dynasty attributed to the above-named Earl, the able lieutenant and sagacious adviser of the founder of the Ming dynasty, wherein it is reported that the author writes on the prevalence of opium smoking, which commenced under the Mongols, and prevailed so extensively as to impoverish the empire. The last Mongol Emperor consulted the Earl on means for its suppression. His reply was that rebellion would follow any attempt of the kind. As soon as, or even before, Tai-tsu assumed the title of Emperor, he, in accordance with Earl Liu Powan's counsel, sought aid from heaven. On the third day of his oblation, it rained blood or red rain, which destroyed the entire poppy crop, and no more was allowed to be grown, and the desire for it ceased. The fact of the prevalence of opium smoking under the Mongols was recently adverted to in a broadsheet against opium, placarded on the

city walls, and written by a Suchau scholar. It stated that men were so impoverished at that period that no one was worth Tls. 100.

If the question be asked, why is it that such an extraordinary circumstance should not have found a place in historical and miscellaneous works, I cannot answer. That the story is not wholly unapocryphal must be admitted, apart from its supernatural aspect, the more so as a work on prophecy attributed to Liu Powan the *Tai-pei-tu* is undoubtedly a forgery. Making every allowance for this and for obvious exaggerations, there can be no doubt that the habit of opium-smoking prevailed during the Mongol sway, and it is in this way only that one can satisfactorily account for the eagerness which was exhibited by Chinamen to obtain the article when it first reached their shores by sea. Smokers of the drug were still to be found in many portions of the country, provided with the unique pipe apparently of Indian origin, and the other utensils of the opium tray; they seized the imported article with avidity, hence the rapid increase of the demand. It seems safe to affirm, therefore, that while the Chinese are right in tracing the evils of opium-smoking to foreigners, it is Mongols and not Europeans who are responsible for the destructive habit. If, indeed, it be true that five centuries ago extensive opium-growing and opium-smoking were suppressed, one may yet entertain hope for the empire. It shows that a popular and vigorous administration could cope with the evil.

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## EXTRACTS FROM "JOHN CHINAMAN ABROAD."

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IN his article in *Fraser's Magazine*, of October, 1878, Mr. G. Fitz-Roy Cole, C.E., quotes the following letter from Australia :—

### MR. CECIL GUINNESS' LETTER.

"As to my experience of Chinese as servants in the colonies I have lived in, I have had large sheep stations in Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland, both in the different places and at different times between the years 1862 and 1876. I have employed Chinamen as house-servants, gardeners, shepherds, fencers, and shearers, etc., in fact in almost every form of employment connected with sheep-farming. I have found them most useful and industrious, sober and honest. They all smoke opium more or less, but you seldom see them affected deleteriously by that indulgence, nor have I ever traced any neglect of their duties to that cause. They are inveterate gamblers, but neither have I ever seen even that propensity interfere with their duties. It is chiefly indulged in when they take their holiday, and congregate in the nearest township. They are sticklers for wages, and expect and demand as much as Europeans. As house-servants, they are useful and often clean, and a great accession in the up-country homesteads; often capital cooks and bakers, and very careful and economical. As gardeners they are remarkable. Accustomed to keep their own little gardens in their own country under great difficulties, they are invaluable in the arid interior of Australia. At Bourke, on the Darling River, in New South Wales, where I lived for ten years, and where, till the advent of Chinamen, it was thought by the earliest European settlers we should never be able to raise vegetables, we soon were surprised and delighted to find, thanks to the perseverance, energy, and industry of the Chinamen gardeners, that we had all the year round a succession of the finest vegetables I have ever seen in any part of the world. In all other departments of station-labour I may add that they are nearly as useful; and, in a word, my experience of Chinese labour is most favourable. They are more suited by habit, characteristics, and physique to plodding, fossicking, persevering industry than for heavy work. They are grand stayers, and very efficacious light weights. I have not much direct personal experience of Chinese labour on goldfields; but I am told their industry and perseverance have worked wonders in that line, and that some of the greatest gold mines in Victoria and New South Wales, when supposed to be worked out and abandoned by Europeans, have been persevered in by Chinamen till they have taken a fresh start, and when returned to have become of vast importance. This is my settled conviction after many years of personal practical station management, where I had every opportunity of thoroughly knowing my men."

Mr. Cole remarks thereon as follows:—

Mr. Guinness' experiences show the original and best side of the Chinaman's character—the great power of endurance, by which he is able to live in the most sterile places. His wants are few, and he shows ready ingenuity in supplying them in whatever land he may find himself. He looks half-starved, but yet he lives on, and will attain a good old age as his father did before him. Some one has compared the Chinaman to the celebrated horse whose owner tried to train him to live on a single straw a day. Nature has been practising the experiment on the "Heathen Chinees" for ages, and he comes nearer this ideal of perfection by several straws than the Anglo-Saxon can hope to do. It cannot be denied that so lithe and easily supported an individual is capable of rendering great service in our colonies, where labour of all kinds is in such great demand. I am, moreover, persuaded that his introduction would not find a dissentient voice in the Assemblies of the Colonial Governments should he seek domestic employment. He is by nature well suited for discharging such household duties as washing, cooking, house-cleaning, and is admirable as a nurse. But we know that the Chinaman's views aim higher. The flow of emigration from China to America and Australia is of a steady and irresistible force, and owes its impetus as much to the internal condition of the Chinese Empire as to the facilities afforded by steam navigation.

Mr. Cole concludes his said article by making the following reflection:—

The day may yet be distant when John Chinaman shall be working in our own coal mines and factories, or domesticated in English homes. That many of my countrymen would welcome his introduction there is very sufficient evidence already. It has been calculated that allowing £100 to £150 as the cost of bringing him to England as a labourer by contract, his five years' labour would amply repay his employer for the outlay, also that he would supply a growing want in the labour market. However this may be, many of our countrymen in the colonies rely entirely on the Chinaman's assistance for the conduct of their business as well as for domestic comfort. With such good grounds of recommendation, he has strong claims on our notice. Let us hope that his persistence in pushing Westward Ho may excite more welcome than apprehension.\* But let our artisans beware, lest, presuming on their power to extort higher and higher wages by placing their employers on the horns of a dilemma they go just a little too far, and induce a combination among their employers which may result in their work being quietly taken out of their hands by the supple fingers and more easily contented mind of John Chinaman.

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\* I was much struck the other day at the Paris Exhibition upon seeing the high prices commanded by the Chinese and Japanese exhibitors for their porcelain and cabinet wares. The originality of design and excellence of workmanship evinced in these exhibits, elicited, I may say, universal praise; and in these branches of art, the time would seem to be yet a long way off before the "Celestials" are likely to be beaten by their European competitors.



## OPIUM SMOKING AT THE EAST END OF LONDON.

COPIED FROM THE "DAILY NEWS" OF 1864.

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WHO "Palmer" was, and why he committed his "Folly," are questions we will not attempt to answer. It is as needless to speculate upon his appearance or character, to figure him with staff, scrip and sandalled shoon, expiating early sins by life-long penance, as it is to ask why a court of disreputable houses should be called a Folly, or bear his name. It is enough to know that through an iron gate, and up a low-roofed tunnel leading from Ratcliff-highway, stands the place we have come to see, and that it is known as Palmer's Folly by every dweller in or periodical visitor to this section of the East. A dreadful place. Shocking in the squalid vice, making itself felt in the air you breathe, the sounds you hear, and the sights you see; doubly shocking from its reputation for deeds of lawless violence, for the shameless use to which its houses are put, and for the open, unabashed wickedness of many of the dwellers within its gates. A dark, besotted Folly too, where you are peeped at by untidy and dishevelled figures, who stand at slightly open doors, or peer down from shrouded windows; a Folly which looks as if nature's pure wholesome light never penetrated it, and as if even artificial light were admitted by charity and under protest. If ever you saw the scriptural aphorism as to a people loving darkness rather than light when their deeds are evil literally realised in its entirety, it is here. You turn from the flaring lights of the busy thoroughfare you have left to tramp up the black, gloom-stricken court, to see ill-omened figures flit about your path, and to speculate upon the effect of the gate to your rear being suddenly shut and locked, or what your course of action would be if the experienced guide at your side were to suddenly remember an appointment and ask you to wait his return. The solution to both hypotheses is that you would probably be robbed and maltreated. The dwellings before you are known as "Skinning houses," and it is from those portals, or through those windows, that many a poor deboshed sailor has been thrust after being stripped to the skin. Hence the name. Tipsy and impressionable, a full purse, an open heart, and a weak head, have combined to make him easy prey; and it has been no uncommon episode in the history of the place for the well-dressed prosperous tar of one night to become the naked outcast of the next. The police regulations have been latterly enforced with salutary strictness, and the condition of this wretched spot proportionately improved. Brawls are less frequent, robbery not so barefaced, and open outrages on decency less common. But it is still a place to shun. If any form of duty necessitate its being visited, let the intending visitor secure the palpable guardianship of the law, or he will inevitably be robbed and beaten. There are gradations in its bagnios, from the so-called "respectable" one, with its fifteen or twenty tenants, and its

rigid system of locked doors, down to the low lodging-house for women, two of whom are squabbling under the dim street lamp yonder as to their respective proprietary rights in the poor sot leaning against the wall. The laws of *meum* and *uum* are at their very weakest; there is here no honour even amongst the people who make common war against society, and the "Thou shalt want ere I want" of the old border chief is elevated into a system of ethics, and made the ruling principle of life. The door of each room in the house just named is fastened on the outside whenever occupied, and the key kept by the proprietor of the establishment, who has also a sliding panel in every door, through which to objurgate his or her tenants, to look down upon them when they are least prepared for observation, and to guard against furniture being wantonly broken, or the sheets or other chattels feloniously abstracted.

After these facts—which speak with such sad significance of the tone and custom of the place—are hastily gathered, we become conscious of a peculiar smell of burning, the aroma from which is not unpleasant. Following this odd scent, and half recognising the drug from which it comes, we push at a half-open front door, and at once find ourselves in a small, half-lit, shabby room on the ground floor, in which a large French bedstead occupies the most conspicuous place. The smell has grown in intensity as we neared this house, and, once here, it becomes trying both to eyes and head. First, as to the company we meet. On the bed, which is devoid of sheets or counterpane, and has its pillows and bolster placed lengthwise along its sides, are three Chinamen, sprawled round a small japan tray, in the centre of which is a tumbler half full of a thick brown syrup, of the consistency of treacle, some brass thimbles, one or two bits of wire about the size known as "blankets;" a burning taper, and some pipes, which look like bits of walking stick, well-worn air-guns, or rude musical instruments. The old Chinaman on the end of the bed nearest the window seems in a half trance, though he smokes vigorously, and in his cadaverous face, painfully-hollow cheeks, deeply-sunken eyes, open vacuous mouth, and teeth discoloured, decayed, and, as it seems, loose as castanets, you read the penalties of opium smoking. This is the proprietor of the house, whose preparation of the drug is so exceptionally skilful that Chinamen come from all parts of London to patronise him. Before you hastily form a judgment as to the wreck of vitality you think you see, learn that the old man is seventy-five years old, that he lives quite alone, and is his own housemaid, scullion, and cook; that he is diligent in his business, such as it is; rises daily at 5 a.m., and is celebrated throughout his dingy neighbourhood for the energetic particularity with which he scrubs and washes pots, pans, and house, and for the scrupulous care wherewith he purchases and prepares his food. Miss Dorothy Tearsheet bears testimony to this as she leans against the doorpost, and seeks to propitiate Mr. Inspector by her ostentatious civilities and the soft and flowery character of her tropes. Not seeing Mr. Inspector's face, as he sits with back to door, this lady addresses him as Mr. Brown, and assumes a confidential air as she indulges in retrospective, and playfully appeals to memory and experience. This you will learn is called "trying it on;" and as the responses become more and more curt, and the wish to repulse more



and more evident, you must not be surprised at being conversationally fastened on in your turn, nor if the verbal compliments culminate in allusions towards the payment of "footing" and the disbursement of coin. The woman has no business there and knows, fortunately for her, nothing of Mr. Inspector; but she has a vague notion that it is prudent to be on speaking terms with the authorities, and so makes poor old John Chinaman a stalking-horse whereon to air her information and do the honours of the place. Besides the bed, there are chairs, a table, cooking utensils, and a clothes-line stretching from one corner of the room to the other. On this hang the coats and waistcoats, collars, and cravats of three young fellows who welcome us with a pleased smile, who are so tickled with our questions about opium smoking, and who exert themselves so efficiently to make us feel at our ease. Their boots and shoes are put tidily in corners or under the bed, and they remain in trousers, shirt, and slippers, or in stockings only. They are evidently of a respectable class of Chinamen, they are clean in their persons, and both socks and shirts are of commendable purity. The one nearest the tray cannot smoke more than three or four pipes of opium a day; the one next to him does not know his own power; while the one at the bed's foot avows to six or eight as the daily quantity he likes. The "ole genelman," as they all call the keeper of the house, either does not speak English, does not like being bothered, or is too much under the influence of opium to talk. He takes no part in the dialogue, which is maintained with some little difficulty, owing to the partial knowledge of English possessed by one party, and the absolute ignorance of Chinese betrayed by the other.

None of these young men could have been more than thirty, and though of the ordinary high-cheeked, small-eyed Tartar type, and plain-visaged enough, there was a comic, good-tempered expression in their dark eyes and bright smile which made them far from unpleasing. Shopmen at some of the large and enterprising tea-dealers' who avert all suspicion of sloe leaves by having their counter adorned with a real pig-tail; successful jugglers, who make good incomes by the knife-throwing, or sword-swallowing, or ball-catching tricks; even mercantile clerks, and of course seamen, have Chinamen in their ranks. To all of these the establishment before us is well known; and the people to whom we talk severally belong to one or other of these callings in life. The young fellow with the particularly jolly smile, whose mastery of "pidgin English" has made him the principal spokesman of the party, shows us how a pipe is charged, lighted, and smoked. One of the blanket pins is thrust into the syrup, and then twisted round and round in the flame until all the stringiness hardens down, and a pill-like globule can be inserted in the small hole in the thick barrel of the pipe. This is lit, and finished in a series of vigorous puffs, which are apparently continued for about a minute. The half-tumbler of black-brown syrup is opium duly prepared for smoking, and is worth twenty-five shillings, while the thimbles at its side each hold a shilling's worth. There is no payment made during our stay. Each man helps himself, potters about the little place, and lounges on the bed with perfect freedom, as if in the habit of doing the same thing nightly, and so periodically reimbursed the landlord in a lump sum. The club-night at, say, the "Three Jolly Pigeons," when the grocer,

the baker, the parish clerk, and the small farmer meet to chat over the gossip of the week, with pipe and glass, is a fair English illustration of the manners, demeanour, and general free-and-easiness of this batch of smokers. Enter tall, athletic young Chinese sailor, who is greeted by all present save comatose old host, who has now dropped his pipe, and is looking with glazed eyes up to the ceiling. A few words tell the new arrival our mission, the extreme humour of which tickles him hugely. "Alia, sar! you not see-ee opium smoke before, sar—aha, then you see-ee him now." He takes off all clothes save trousers and shirt, finds his own pipe stowed away in a dark corner, and forthwith plunges into his opium treat. "How many pipe I smoke, sar? ten, twelve, all day long when I get him." "Old genelman not do without at all, sar. I not likee do without, but old genelman he die without smoke-ee." Miss Tearsheet, seeing another opportunity for breaking into the conversation, here furnishes details concerning a lady of her acquaintance, one "Cheeney Emma," who lives next door but one, and who, from long consorting with Chinamen, has acquired their habits, and "cries fit to kill herself" when deprived of her daily pabulum of opium. "You likee tobacco, sar, alia! you smokee em cigar, aha! we smokee opium, you understand, sar;" which means that the aphorism, "one man's meat is another man's poison" is thoroughly understood by our Chinese sailor. Nothing could be jollier or more scrupulously courteous than our companions of the hour. Pipes are hospitably proffered ("Try him, sar, he no hurt you, he very good,") but are cautiously declined, for the fumes gather in intensity, and though we sit near the open door, it is not without an oppressed feeling about the head—as if the crowning towel of a Turkish bath had petrified, after being more than ever tightly bound over the temples—and a blinking soreness in the eyes, that we recross the court, after shaking hands and reciprocating hearty greetings with our hosts. We learn that the establishment we have just left has been much maligned, and that in the opinion of the police-inspector who acted as our guide, the house stands forth as a model of reputability when compared with its immediate neighbours. Out and about the sordid Albert Street and Square, through the equally wretched and vicious Blue-gate Fields, with shadowy figures flitting across our darkened pathway, and whistling and other sounds signalling the presence of strangers and the imminent approach of the police; past men and women, whose language and appearance made the Chinamen we had left shine out as specimens of chivalric courtesy and polished civilization; and we are amongst the flaring gaslights of Ratcliff Highway once more, with the same hideous street nymphs, *sans* cap or bonnet, promenading the pavement, the same rough-looking Jack tars lounging in and out of taverns, the same coarse efforts at dramatic representation and musical entertainment in the long saloons, and the same chronic smell of bilge-water, cordage, and fried fish permeating the air.



## M. RICHEL ON POISONS OF INTELLIGENCE.

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WHILE attention is being very properly directed to the mischiefs which result from the coarser kinds of drunkenness, physiologists are studying the not less dangerous influence of other intoxicating substances which are, fortunately, less widely abused. M. Charles Richet's second paper on the "Poisons of the Intelligence," in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* is devoted to three of these substances—hashish, opium, and the more common and less deadly coffee. The first of these may be said at the present time to be practically unknown as a thing of general use in Europe. Some time ago in Paris, a club, of which Balzac and Théophile Gautier were members, used to assemble at the Hôtel Pimodan to eat hashish, and Gautier has left a record of his experiences in one of his most brilliant articles. Also it used to be said of an English author who flourished but a little while since, that he took hashish to procure inspiration ; but such cases as these are rare, and the employment of this preparation of Indian hemp may now be said to be confined to those who take it for purposes of investigation. This M. Richet himself has done, trying the various effects of different doses, and in his paper he gives an accurate description of the sensations produced by the drug. Its first effects are scarcely noticeable ; there is an excitability of the spinal marrow, which causes strange sensations in the nape of the neck, the back and the legs, and the head is impressed with alternate sensations of heat and cold. Along with them is experienced the same kind of content which follows the absorption of a certain amount of alcohol. Presently the excitement of the spinal marrow produces more marked effects. The subject experiences a muscular excitement which drives him to walk about, and makes him long to dance or to perform some feat of strength. For a while, during this excitement, the intelligence is undisturbed ; but suddenly some chance and meaningless remark will cause a tremendous and irresistible fit of laughter, which draws the attention of the laugher to the fact of the drug's influence. From this moment a vast crowd of shifting ideas begins to fill the hashish-eater's mind, in which, at the same time, every normal sensation is immensely exaggerated, so that a friend of M. Richet's, who had taken hashish, seeing him approach to prick him, experimentally, with a pin, fell upon his knees in the utmost terror, and begged M. Richet in tragic accents to spare him this terrible torture. M. Richet goes on to point to the marked resemblance between this state of the hashish-eater and that of the ordinary hysteria patient, who, like one under the influence of this drug, sees a premeditated insult in a chance expression, a tragic history in a trifling annoyance, and an exaggerated dramatic effect in every ordinary circumstance of life. In both cases this is due to the feeble-

ness of the will upon which M. Richet dwelt in his former paper on alcoholic poisoning.

The writer passes from this to the consideration of a well-known effect of hashish, which may be called specific, inasmuch as it exists, if at all, only in a very slight degree in the intoxication produced by other substances. This is the complete loss of appreciation of time or space, a state which almost realises the fable of the Eastern Monarch, who lived a lifetime of suffering while at the bidding of a skilled leech he dipped his head into a basin of water. In this condition seconds become years and minutes—centuries. Théophile Gautier has given a striking picture of it in the description of his crossing the club-room of the hashish eaters, a journey which seemed to him to last ten years. He has also noted the curious self-assertion of the intelligence in the midst of delusions which M. Richet remarks. When having at length crossed the room and descended the apparently bottomless stairs he got into the courtyard, his first impression was surprise at the immense extent of the buildings surrounding him, when a voice seemed to say to him, “You are deceived by illusions—the courtyard is small enough; it measures twenty-seven by twenty-five feet.” After this came the idea that eleven o’clock, for which he was waiting, would never arrive. Time was dead, and a party was assembled to go to his funeral; there would be no more years, months or hours. This strange illusion about duration of time, which, as we have said, is a distinctive mark of the influence of hashish, is skilfully explained by M. Richet. It is caused by the extraordinary number of ideas which rush, or seem to rush, through the brain in a space of time which in a normal condition is barely enough for the birth of one. It is difficult, says the writer, to convey any true notion of this curious state to one who has not eaten hashish; but it is reached in a lesser degree in the moments between sleeping and waking. And some approach to it can be obtained by merely shutting the eyes and giving rein to fancy while one is driving over a well-known road. Most of us, indeed, must have experienced the start of surprise with which, awaking from a reverie of apparently vast length, one finds that one is but half way on a journey thought well-nigh finished. Besides delusions and exaggerations, hashish sometimes produces actual illusions, and readers of “Monte Christo” will remember the brilliant visions which appeared to his guest on the mysterious island after he had eaten some of the peculiar green substance out of a priceless box. Those who may feel tempted to try the effect of this potent drug will do well to remember that it is necessary to have some one at hand who is not under its influence. This precaution was always taken by the members of the Parisian Hashish Club, as without it some of the members might have stepped out of the window thinking they could fly.

The effect of opium might be said to be opposite to that of hashish, as the one excites while the other soothes the brain. How the sleep induced by opium is brought about has never, M. Richet says, been really determined. The sleep of opium is different in some points from natural sleep. About half an hour or an hour after taking opium a gentle and pleasurable excitement is felt, which gives place to a kind of attractive somnolence, during which one feels a pleasure in giving



one's self up to laziness with a consciousness that it could be resisted. A feeling of sleepiness, however, gradually prevails ; the sounds of the outside world are heard still, but dulled as in a dream ; the *ego* of consciousness has disappeared, and it seems that another person than one's self is listening to them. Upon this follows a sleep which has a peculiar charm, because, as M. Richet says, "one feels one's self sleeping." The writer describes the intoxication of opium as far superior to that of alcohol or hashish, as they produce unreasoning excitement, while opium gives sleep. This sleep can be counteracted by another agent, coffee, which causes sleeplessness just as opium causes sleep. Its specific effect may be said to be a feverish activity which is no less destructive to the harmonious working of the faculties than somnolence. According to M. Richet, the imagination is little, the will much excited under the influence of coffee. While with alcohol, hashish, and opium the attention is in abeyance, with coffee it is over excited. Coffee, says M. Richet, produces an intoxication more fatiguing than that of opium, but the same in its result. The intelligence is excited to the point of wanting to do too much, the effort of will recoils against itself, having no imagination to back it ; and the balance of the intellectual faculties is as much disturbed by an excess as by a want of will. This, if it be true, may seem bad news to the many people who find that coffee after dinner is a pleasant and harmless stimulant ; but we must suppose that M. Richet's observations apply only to the immoderate doses of coffee, the disastrous effects of which, in his own case, have been recorded by Henri Murger. M. Richet sums up his interesting articles by observing that under the influence of all the poisons he discusses the disturbance of the intelligence is practically the same. The balance of the imagination and the will is upset, and the man to whom this happens becomes, not according to the common phrase, a brute beast, but a madman. The idea that the use of intoxicating substances can be advantageous to men who work with their brains and feel a want of new ideas is false. An appearance of brilliancy is bought at the cost of giving up the command of the ideal faculty ; and the firm exercise of self-control will lead to far better work than the employment of an agent which produces excitement and destroys calm reason.

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## THE SUBCUTANEOUS MORPHIA INJECTIONS AN INVENTION OF EUROPEAN GENIUS.

EXTRACTS FROM DR. KANE'S BOOK ABOUT "DRUGS THAT ENSLAVE."

Philadelphia (London, TRÜBNER AND CO.).

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IN my work upon the hypodermic use of morphia, I made in the preface the following statement, the belief in which has since been strengthened:—"There is no proceeding in medicine that has become so rapidly popular; no method of allaying pain so prompt in its action and permanent in its effect; no plan of medication that has been so carelessly used and thoroughly abused; and no therapeutic discovery that has been so great a blessing and so great a curse to mankind as the hypodermic injection of morphia."

The danger of forming the habit from the use of the drug in this way is undoubted. Correspondents, physicians from all parts of this country, England and France, assert this and detail cases. Levenstein gives many instances in Germany, and Dr. Loose, of Bremen, sends me the report of an able paper read by him before a medical society, wherein he cites cases, deplores the rapid spread of the practice, and advises special legislation upon the subject. He remarks for that country what Dr. T. B. Mattison, myself and others, have noted in the United States, *i.e.*, that many of the victims are members of the medical profession of good standing. One hundred and thirty-one physicians report to me one hundred and eighty-four cases of the morphia habit, in all of which it was contracted by the use of the hypodermic syringe.

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I have already spoken of the two ways in which the opium or morphia habit is formed. A patient of a nervous temperament, suffering from some painful or spasmodic disease, is attended by a physician, who administers one of these drugs by the mouth, rectum, or subcutaneously. The relief to suffering is magical, and persists so long as the effect of the drug lasts. With a return of the pain comes the natural desire to have it relieved, and as the narcotics just spoken of have been found especially efficacious, the patient desires its repetition. This may go on for weeks and months, until the disease, of which the pain was but a symptom, is cured, or it may never be cured. At any rate, the patient awakes to the knowledge that he must have his narcotic. Life without it is unbearable, and instead of putting forth an extreme effort of the will, as is done by some, and then and there abandoning its use, the majority allow themselves to drift into this habit of daily intoxication with opium. The majority of *habitués* first use the drug for the relief of pain, and then find themselves unable to break loose from it. Some seem to be so constituted that a single or a few doses of drugs of this nature light up in them an irresistible desire to continue their use. There seems to be a morbid



craving for *something*, exactly what is not known, until the narcotic is tried, when this morbid appetite is satisfied and fixed, and becomes the typical "morbid craving for morphia." It will be dipsomania, morphiamania, chloral-mania, hasheesh-mania, according as the one or other drug is presented to the patient in the condition of craving. Some persons are undoubtedly born with, and some acquire this craving for some narcotic or stimulant.

A person knowing this fact can readily see how like putting a match to gunpowder it is to give these people opium or morphine in any form, and how inevitably the reading such a book as that of De Quincey's would create a longing, and open the way to a road that has a certain ending in a life's bondage. Such as these are to be pitied, and deserve the kindest treatment and the most judicious care. They are like a person who has lost a limb or is suffering from a cancer. In the one instance they lack a certain something that should be there, and which is necessary to the free, full and proper enjoyment of life. In the other case—the acquired tendency or craving—they have a pernicious addition to the system that threatens them with death.

Pity, then, rather than blame, at the same time using every legitimate means to break up both the habit and the tendency.

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There is no question in my mind that, in writing his confessions, De Quincey left a large debit on the side of truth, and handed down to succeeding generations a mass of ingenious lies, more pleasantly the fiction, vaporising from a laudanum soaked brain. He must needs seek some justification for his life of wilful misery—for the blasted hopes, ambitions and prospects of what might have been a noble career, and he offered the dream life, the fuller development of benevolence, and the many pleasures so fantastically portrayed as a justification, in part at least, for his sin.

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One very grave mistake that has been made by many of the Anti-Opium trade writers and speakers has been to judge of the supposed ill effects of the habitual use of the opium pipe by the real ill-effects that have been found to result from the use of the drug by the mouth, or hypodermically.

Thus the effects of opium-taking amongst the natives of Burmah, the description of which is unquestionably truthful, cannot be taken as a fair gauge by which to judge of the effects upon the Chinese, for while the former swallow it the latter smoke it.

In the matter of physical injury, both as regards repidity of action and permanency of effect, the different preparations of the drug and the manner of using them may be arranged in the following order:—

- (1.) The hypodermic injection of morphia.
- (2.) The use of morphia by the mouth or rectum.
- (3.) The use of alcoholic preparations of opium by the mouth.
- (4.) The use of gum (crude) opium by the mouth, and "last," and in this case for once "least,"
- (5.) The use of the extract of opium by inhalation, viz., opium-smoking.

## THE TWO RIVAL TRUTHS ABOUT OPIUM.

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### EXTRACTS FROM MR. BRERETON'S "TRUTH."

(W. H. ALLEN AND CO., 13, Waterloo Place. Price 1s.)

ON pages 4 and 5 of his preface to his second edition, Mr. Brereton says :—

My lectures were delivered in February, 1882. The Rev. Mr. Storrs Turner attended them, and corresponded with me upon the subject. In those lectures I criticised his book and pointed out its misleading features and inaccuracies ; but, recognising the force of Sir John Falstaff's maxim, that "the better part of valour is discretion," he never attempted to controvert my case, nor justify himself or the Anti-Opium Society, who for so many years had made such noise in the world. It was only in October, 1882—eight months after my lectures had been delivered—after an article appeared in the *London and China Telegraph*, commenting on the collapse of the Anti-Opium Society—that Mr. Storrs Turner, like Munchausen's remarkable hunting-horn, gave utterance to a few feeble notes, to the effect that his society was still alive ; for he well knew that all I had stated in those lectures I could prove to the hilt, aye, ten times over.

But if Mr. Storrs Turner has declined the contest, an acolyte of his, Mr. B. Broomhall—who appears to be the secretary of the Inland China Mission, and one of the "Executive Committee" of the Anti-Opium Society—comes upon the scene like King Hamlet's ghost, declaring that he "could a tale unfold whose lightest breath would harrow up your souls, freeze the hot blood, and make each particular hair to stand on end." Plagiarising, if not pirating, my title, with a colourable addition of the word "Smoking," he produces, in November, 1882, a compilation entitled "*The Truth about Opium-Smoking*," rather a thick pamphlet, made up of excerpts from all the writings and speeches, good, bad, and indifferent, that have been published and delivered within the last thirty years on the Anti-Opium side of the question, with some critical matter of his own, from all of which it appears most conclusively that he, Mr. B. Broomhall, is perfectly innocent of the subject he undertakes to enlighten the world upon. I think I see through this gentleman and his objects pretty well.

On page 80 of his book he says :—

Thus, as I have shown, it has come to pass that whilst the missionary clergymen, owing to their sacred calling and their unquestionably high character, are accepted in England as the most reliable witnesses and entitled to the greatest credit, they are really the men who are the very worst informed upon the opium question, which they profess to understand so thoroughly. They are, in fact, the victims of their own delusions. But saddest fact of all, these missionary gentlemen, with



the best intentions, and in the devout belief that, by carrying on this anti-opium agitation, they are helping to remove an obstacle to the dissemination of the Gospel in China, are of necessity by so doing obliged to neglect more or less the very Gospel work they are so desirous to spread, leaving the missionary field open to their Roman Catholic rivals.

On pages 148 and 149 he says :—

The missionaries and the Anti-Opium Society, in the face of facts which directly contradict them, say that the Chinese Government has a horror of opium ; but they never tell us that that Government has a horror of themselves. What was the celebrated saying of Prince Kung to the British Ambassador? “Take away your opium and your missionaries,” said he. Now the Chinese Government does not hate opium ; it derives a very large revenue from the drug at present, and it is only anxious to increase the amount. I have very little doubt that Prince Kung, and all the other imperial magnates, including Li Hung Chang, that strictest of moralists, revel in the very Indian drug they affect so to abhor. But they do detest the missionaries most cordially ; so do the whole educated people of the empire, and so do Chinamen generally. None know this better than the missionaries themselves. That disgraceful book, written by a Mandarin, called “A Death-blow to Corrupt Practices,” which was, by the aid of his brother Mandarins, extensively circulated throughout China, but too plainly proves the fact. That infamous volume was aimed at the whole missionary body in China, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant ; it attributed the foulest crimes, the most disgraceful and disgusting practices to the missionaries. It was, in fact, the precursor of the fearful Tientsin massacre ; yet the missionaries tell us that if we will only discontinue the Indo-China opium trade the millenium will arrive. I may here observe that if opium was the terrible thing, and was productive of so much misery to its votaries as the Protestant missionaries and the Anti-Opium Society would have us believe, it seems strange that no mention of opium or opium smoking appears in this book. If half the outcry raised against the Indo-Chinese opium trade were true, here was an excellent opportunity for the writer to have inveighed against the wickedness of foreigners in introducing the horrible drug into the country. If the Gospel is objected to because of this Indian opium, what a fine occasion for the author to have enlarged upon the iniquity. If the Chinese mind had been in any way impressed with the evils proceeding from opium smoking, can it be supposed for a moment that the author of this book, an educated Mandarin—one of the *literati* in fact—would have omitted the opportunity of denouncing the missionaries and foreigners generally for introducing the terrible drug into the country and making profit by the vices and misery of the Chinese people ? Does not the entire omission of opium from this book prove most eloquently that there is no real truth in the outcry raised by these missionaries against the opium trade ? The real fact, believe me, is this, the Chinese dislike and distrust the missionaries, not because opium is an evil, but because they hate and despise Christianity. From the Anti-Opium Society one never hears anything about the removal of the missionaries ; it is

all "take away your opium." I am perfectly sure that if we agreed to exclude our missionaries from China, the Government of that country would unhesitatingly admit Indian opium into the country duty free. No greater proof can be adduced of this than the zeal and persistency with which the Chinese Government recently and successfully prosecuted the celebrated Wu Shi Shan case, which was in the nature of an action of ejectment against a Protestant missionary body at Foochow. The late Mr. French, the Judge of her Majesty's Supreme Court for China and Japan, tried the case, the hearing of which occupied nearly two months. It cost the Chinese Government about one hundred thousand dollars, or twenty thousand pounds. They were well satisfied with the result, although the land they recovered was not worth a tenth of the money.

On page 165, he says :—

I have now, I think, shown and fully refuted the fallacies which within the past thirty years have crept into the minds of the opponents of the Indo-China opium trade, dimming the faculties, blinding the reason, warping the judgment, ministering to the prejudices, deluding the senses, gratifying the feelings, until these fallacies have become so interwoven and welded together as to form and culminate into one *concrete, plausible, fascinating, defamatory lie!* A cruel, false, and treacherous lie, that misleads alike its votaries, and its victims, and that, too, in the names of religion and charity. A lie circumstantial—so highly genteel and respectable—so sentimental and pious—so sleek and unctuous—so caressed and flattered—so bravely dressed, and so beflounced and trimmed with the trappings of truth, that even those who have bedecked the jade fail to see the imposture they have created, so that the tawdry quean struts along receiving homage as she goes, whilst plain, honest truth in her russet gown wends her way unnoticed. I have shown that this Anti-Opium scare is a sham, a mockery, a delusion, a glittering piece of counterfeit coin, which I have broken to pieces and proved to you that, for all its silvery surface, there is nothing but base metal beneath.

On pages 169 to 172, he says :—

Now, though I hold in respect all the officers and supporters of the Anti-Opium Society, who are actuated, I admit, by the best motives, and whose characters for benevolence and good faith I do not question, I cannot forbear from repeating that their crusade against the Indo-China opium trade is as unjustifiable as it is mischievous, and is well calculated to produce the results I have deprecated. It encourages the Chinese Government to make untenable demands upon us, under false pretences, and it is an unwarranted interference with an industry, wholly unobjectionable on any but sentimental grounds, affording subsistence to millions of our fellow-subjects in India. It aims also at cutting off some eight or ten millions sterling from the revenue of that vast dependency, now expended in ameliorating the condition of its dense population. Further more, it offers to useful and legitimate legislation an opposition and obstruction of the worst kind, seeing that it obtrudes upon the Legislature its unfounded and exploded theories to the displacement or delay of really useful measures.



I say that the Anti-Opium Society, in the course of its agitation for the abolition of this Indo-China opium trade, is vilifying its countrymen and blackening this country in the eyes of the whole world, so that the foreigner can convict us out of our own mouths, and gibe at us for hypocrisy and turpitude we are wholly innocent of, and for crimes we have never committed. I say that the history of this society presents nothing but a dreary record of energies wasted, talents misapplied, wealth uselessly squandered, charity perverted, and philanthropy run mad. The members of this society never think, perhaps, of the mischief they have done and are doing. Here has our government been trying for the past seven or eight years to agree upon a revised commercial treaty with the Government of China, and here also, side by side, is an irresponsible political body doing its utmost to cripple, paralyse, and defeat our Government in its efforts, taking up in fact a downright hostile attitude to the action of Imperial and Indian Governments, by carrying on an unauthorised, unofficial correspondence with Li Hung Chang, the Prime Minister, and the most influential public man in China, who is a master of the arts of diplomacy, and who is doing his utmost to get the better of us if he can in the matter of the Chefoo Convention. Here, I say, is this society putting forward Li's audacious and misleading letter to its secretary, Mr. Storrs Turner, as an embodiment of truth and justice. Is this patriotic or proper on the part of this Anti-Opium Society? Should that body, instead of setting itself up as a junto, with a quasi-official standing, having a monopoly of all the virtues, be allowed by the Government to carry on its mischievous organization any longer? I think not. I believe there is no other country in the world—not even America, where liberty has run to seed—where such an intermeddling anti-national and mischievous confederacy would be permitted to exist. Instead of trying to thwart Her Majesty's Government, as it is doing, it should be the duty of its members, of every Englishman interested in China, and, indeed, of the whole country, to strengthen as far as possible the hands of the Government in its endeavour to bring the pending negotiations for a commercial treaty with China to a successful close. Yet what are the present plans of this pragmatistical body? In its latest publication, a compilation of the most fallacious and misleading matter, bearing a title meanly plagiarized from this book, it is announced that the following motion stands upon the Order Book of the House of Commons, and is intended to be moved in the Session for 1883, viz. :—

That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that in the event of negotiations taking place between the Governments of Her Majesty and China, having reference to the duties levied on opium under the Treaty of Tientsin, the Government of Her Majesty will be pleased to intimate to the Government of China that in any such revision of that treaty *the Government of China will be met as that of an independent State, having the full right to arrange its own import duties as may be deemed expedient.*

What a modest proposition! The Queen's Ministers, it appears, cannot be trusted in their negotiations with the Government of China, and Her Majesty in consequence is to be asked to ignore her constitutional advisers, and personally inform the Chinese Minister that his Government shall be treated as an independent State, and so forth.

In fact, this proposal is tantamount to a vote, *pro tanto* at least, of want of confidence in the Government, which, I have little doubt, would be rejected by an overwhelming majority of both sides of the House. I only hope it will be pressed to a division, as the result, I believe, will show to the country in an unmistakable manner, once and for all, the utter insignificance of the Anti-Opium confederacy as a political body, the falsity and mischief of its teachings, and prove the knell of its existence. If motions like this were to be passed, it would be impossible to carry on Her Majesty's Government. The matter is really too absurd to be seriously dealt with by Parliament, and I bring it before my readers more for the purpose of showing the downright folly, infatuation and fanaticism which characterise this Anti-Opium confederation than for any other purpose. To these political philanthropists and amateur statesmen I would recommend these lines, which seem to me to meet their case exactly :—

“ No narrow bigot he, his reasoned view  
Thy interest, England, ranks with thine, Peru ;  
War at our doors, he sees no danger nigh,  
But heaves for all alike the impartial sigh ;  
A steady patron of the world alone,  
The friend of every country—save his own.”

## EXTRACTS FROM MR. BROOMHALL'S "TRUTH."

(HODDER AND STOUGHTON, Paternoster Row. Price 6d.)

FRAGMENTS OUT OF HIS REPORT OF THE MEETING HELD AT EXETER  
HALL, ON MARCH 15TH, 1882.

REV. W. H. COLLINS, M.R.C.S. (pages 18 and 19) :—Opium is most generally smoked in China by the higher classes ; and this is the great evil that it does to China, because the ruling classes are enfeebled by it, physically and morally, and therefore great wrong is done to the whole nation by the fact of the ruling classes being opium smokers ; and it may very well happen that even if England gives free leave to China to reject the drug they will not do it, because they have learnt to love it, and because they have in a great measure become dependent upon the income which is derived from the opium trade. Hence, unless a man were very strongminded, as a statesman, he would be unable to deal with this matter. You see we have incurred guilt in fixing upon the opium smokers in China the love of the drug, and especially as I have already said upon the ruling classes, upon whom would depend the decision whether this drug should be rejected or not.

\* \* \* \*

W. Gauld, M.D. (pages 19 and 20) :—As to the mind, opium smoking acts through the brain, and you can easily see that the mind is affected by the effect on the brain. When a man takes opium the immediate effect is stimulating, as we have heard from Mr. Collins ; but that effect gradually passes off. His statement about the teachers



I can confirm from my own experience. As a rule these teachers soon get sleepy over their books. They cannot keep up their attention as ordinary men can. You may say: "Why have opium smoking teachers? The reason is that opium smoking is so prevalent among the literary classes in China, that we can scarcely get a teacher who is not an opium smoker. This of itself shows the deadly effect that the habit is likely to have on the Chinese as a nation, because the rulers are taken from these literary classes.

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*

Mr. Henry Varley (page 20):—I should like to ask one question, my Lord. It seems from what we have heard that the ruling and literary men of China smoke opium very largely. Are we to infer that the lower classes are superior to the literary men in that respect, and that it is not a common thing amongst the poor.

Dr. Gauld: A great many of the poor smoke opium. There are certain classes especially. For instance, the chair-bearers are almost universally opium smokers.

Rev. W. H. Collins:—When we speak of the numbers who smoke opium it must be remembered that probably not one per cent. of the whole population smoke, and therefore, if nearly all the literary classes smoke, there will be a very small number of smokers left in the lower classes.

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*

Mr. Henry Varley (page 21):—We have been accustomed to hear of the ravages of opium for the last fifteen or twenty years. I hardly know how to understand it. I do not know whether it strikes every gentleman in the same way. If it is only a question of one per cent., of course it is important to bring public opinion to bear against that; but we have been accustomed to think that it was a very widespread and ravaging curse; and I am afraid that if the thought gets out, it will appear that we have a very weak case.

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*

Rev. A. E. Moule (pages 28 and 29):—I hope that the statements which have been made this evening will not be considered antagonistic, for they are not. The practice prevails to an awful extent. *While I was in China I was informed by those who had reason to be correctly informed, that it was supposed that something like ninety per cent. of the Chinese army smoked opium*, so I should imagine that one per cent. is as low as you can possibly put it if spread over the whole empire. At the same time in many of the large cities the percentage is infinitely greater.

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*

A gentleman speaking from the body of the meeting said (page 51): Mr. Chairman, are the Government in China honest in their desire to do away with opium themselves? At the Society of Arts the other night, the question which the noble lord put to the speakers, and insisted upon an answer to, was this, "Is the Government in China really honest in desiring to do away with the opium traffic?" No, gentleman here to-night has attempted to answer that question. I am rather surprised at that. I should like some of these China gentlemen, who

know something of China to tell us whether the Government are really desirous of doing so.

The Chairman :—I am not aware that there is a representative of the Government of China present here to-night to answer the question, and I am not quite sure that the Government of China has always had a very fair chance to answer.

Mr. Macdonald :—The Government of China is sincere in their efforts against the evils which afflict the people. Many of the officials smoke opium themselves, but then that does not deprive them of feeling for their country.

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## SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL'S LETTER TO THE "TIMES."

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### THE OPIUM TRADE.

SIR,—Owing to absence and travelling I did not at the time see the report of the meeting at the Mansion House on October 21, to discuss the opium trade ; but the assembly there was so important and influential, and the subject is so nearly approaching the region of practical politics, that I trust you will even now admit some observations from one who combines great sympathy with Advanced Liberal opinions on such subjects (to the point of sometimes voting for the Permissive Bill) with official experience as responsible for the administration of the Opium Department in India. I will not attempt to dogmatize or to decide difficult questions, but merely state the case as it now stands for the decision of the British Parliament and public.

For convenience, I somewhat reverse the order of the proceedings at the meeting, and begin with Cardinal Manning's resolution against the sale of opium in Burmah. High official authorities differed on that subject, and I will not pretend to decide between them, for I have no personal knowledge of Burmah, but this I will say, that, right or wrong, the meeting in this matter was on perfectly legitimate ground. There is only the question raised of our own financial and administrative system in dealing with our own subjects. I entirely agree that no considerations of revenue should stand in the way of dealing with intoxicants of every kind as may be best for the moral and social well-being of the people committed to our charge. We can the better afford to be virtuous in this respect as the revenue involved is comparatively small. The whole receipts from the Excise on liquors and drugs of all sorts throughout India are not one-third of the net revenue from exported opium.

Then there is another point raised in Cardinal Manning's speech to which I would ask special attention. I mean his warning lest in seeking to get rid of the Government monopoly we should find the subject still more difficult to deal with in the hands of a multitude of traders difficult to control, and whose vested interests would speedily grow. I have always looked with great dislike on the Government connexion with the opium traffic, but the practical suggestion is how to get rid of it without incurring greater evils ? Unless we are prepared to prohibit the cultivation and sale altogether what are we to do ? Free cultivation and an export duty (even if it would work otherwise) would certainly spread the use of the drug among our own subjects. The plan sometimes proposed of making over the Government monopoly to private firms and companies would lead to the evils which Cardinal Manning points out. Our hands would be tied by vested interests.

In this respect we may take a lesson from the present rage for limiting new publichouse licenses in this country, with the result of raising up an enormously valuable property in the existing licences, which stands in the way of all radical reform. After all, the Government monopoly is just the Gothenburg system which some of our great towns would like to try if the existing publicans did not stand in the way. And, at any rate, the question in what form opium is to be taxed is one of detail, and does not touch the root of the greater questions involved in the traffic. I admit it to be a fair subject for discussion and for the suggestion of new methods.

Now, coming to the first and main resolution, perhaps one must expect that in such a case the statements agreed on must be somewhat wide and vague. But as the proposer is doubtless not responsible for the wording of the resolution, I must, with all the great respect which we feel for the Archbishop of Canterbury, say that there is one vital part of the resolution which seems to me to be unfairly vague and meaningless, if not misleading. I mean that which declares it to be our duty "to withdraw all encouragement from the growth of the poppy in India, except for strictly medicinal purposes." What does this mean? Does it mean that the growth ought to be prohibited? If so, surely it would be plainer and fairer to say so. If it means only that the growth should not be "encouraged," then I say that it is quite misleading. The Government of India does not encourage, but restrains the growth of opium. I am well within the mark when I say that there is not 5 per cent. of the British territories in India in which the growth of the poppy is permitted at all; in the remaining 95 per cent. it is absolutely prohibited. In the limited districts, in which the growth is permitted the permission is only accorded on the condition that the opium grown is delivered to the Excise Department at less than one-third of its market value. I say confidently that it is quite impossible to devise a system under which the growth would be more restrained short of absolute prohibition. Well, then, as regards the question of prohibition, the world may arrive at a stage when such a thing may be discussed—when the manufacture and sale of spirits are prohibited in this country, when the growth of the poppy is stopped in China, when other nations will join in a system of prohibition. But meantime the idea is, it seems to me, quite beyond the region of practical politics. It is not a case of sacrificing our own income for the benefit of our own people, but of one people sacrificing the income of another people for possible benefit of a third people. I say possible, because if the result were, as is very probable, an extended growth in China and other countries, the Chinese would not be benefited after all. We should not only sacrifice the Indian opium revenue, but also the profit of the cultivation to the ryots of the districts in India where population presses most closely on the means of subsistence and the people are poorest. Mention is made of aid to be given by this country towards compensating the loss, but has it been considered how many millions sterling annually are involved? Is it at all likely that this country would submit to, say, a permanent income tax of 6d. in the pound for the purpose?

When we pass from the Indian administration to the conduct of



affairs in China, I am entirely at one with those who think that we are in the wrong. No one can more strongly believe in the wickedness of the opium wars or more decidedly hold that we are not justified in enforcing treaties for the admission of opium extorted by those wars. In this view I wholly abandon all argument based on the Indian revenue. I think we are in no way bound to do wrong for the benefit of India, and that India has no claim on us for compensation for losses caused by such abstinence from wrong. Still, we must bear in mind the practical difficulties to which Lord Hartington has pointed. It is very doubtful whether we can settle the question by merely telling the Chinese they are free to do as they like. We must go much further, and completely change our mode of dealing with weak peoples in the interest of British traders. I trust and believe that the present Government will never carry the "Civis Romanus" doctrine to the monstrous lengths that Lord Palmerston did; but even within the last year or two things have been done and formally sanctioned by departments of the present Government which it is very difficult to defend. If the Chinese prohibit the introduction of foreign opium, are we prepared actively to intervene to stop smuggling on their coasts? Shall we surrender the extra-territoriality claim and tell the Chinese they may punish those who break their laws if they can catch them, or must British offenders be tried by a sympathizing jury of British smugglers? Unless we are prepared to go very great lengths in this direction there would certainly be a return of the old state of things—most audacious smuggling under the British flag and frequent collisions with the Chinese. As before, no doubt, sooner or later, in some case the Chinese would put themselves in the wrong according to a strict legal interpretation of our laws. Confident in their new armaments, and stung by a sense of wrong in the whole matter, they would not improbably refuse satisfaction, and we might have another Chinese war.

There is yet another view. Suppose (which is the most probable event) that the Chinese, being free to do as they like, instead of prohibiting opium, put a very heavy duty on it. Say at present a chest of opium on arrival in China is worth £140, of which £40 is the cost of production and £100 export revenue derived by the Indian Government. If the Chinese impose £100 duty the Indian revenue will disappear, and will be transferred to the Chinese Exchequer while the Chinese opium-consumers would not be benefited at all. It was with an idea of this kind in my mind that I said in the House of Commons that if the Chinese must be poisoned I would rather the profit went to the benefit of our Indian subjects than to the Chinese Exchequer. The observation was unpremeditated, and I do not seriously defend it. But practically it comes to this—if we do not assist the Chinese to collect a very high duty, there will be the same violent smuggling collisions, and not improbably war, as in the case of prohibition. On the other hand, is it possible that we should carry sentimental virtue so far as actually to give the most active and effective assistance to the Chinese in collecting a revenue for themselves, with the direct effect of destroying our own Indian revenue without any benefit to the Chinese people? I hardly think anyone could expect us to do that.

This letter is already too long, and I do not here attempt to show

what ought to be done ; but in the character of an old official I venture to say, in effect, to the excellent and honest philanthropists who agitate the question, "Let us reason together." Here is a statement of the position put, I hope, fairly, and in good faith : do not merely denounce in vague language and ambiguous terms, but face the facts as they are, and let us try to work out the solution most just to all parties and least likely to involve greater evils to masses of the human race.

Your obedient servant,

GEORGE CAMPBELL.

SOUTHWELL-HOUSE, SOUTHWELL-GARDENS,  
*Nov. 10th, 1881.*

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## OPIUM AND COMMON SENSE.

BY SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

FROM THE "NINETEENTH CENTURY," DECEMBER, 1881.

(*By special permission.*)

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"THERE is no subject connected with China and our relations with that country which has attracted, upon the whole, so much attention as the opium trade, and our active intervention in its supply. It was the immediate cause of our first war with China in 1839, the result of which was materially to change our position in that country, as well as that of the Chinese nation in respect to the whole Western world. It has formed the subject of inquiry before a Special Committee of the House of Commons. It has been one of the stock pieces of agitation and discussion among a large body of our countrymen at Exeter Hall and elsewhere, in connection with missionary objects, thus enlisting some of the best feelings of our nature in a question often urged upon the nation as demanding a national decision and a policy in accordance with it. As a political question, bearing upon all our relations with China, it has of necessity been often pressed upon the attention of successive Governments by the course of events, both before and since the war; attacked among ourselves on hygienic grounds by the denouncers of stimulants under every form, and of narcotic stimulants as the most pernicious of all forms—on moral and religious grounds by missionaries and their friends, it still remains the 'vexed question' of Exeter Hall—a weapon of offence in the hands of Continental carpers at our national morality and policy; and a permanent source of opprobrium and difficulty with the Chinese."

More than twenty years have passed since I wrote these words, and they remain as applicable to our relations with China and the opium trade at the present day as they were in the year 1858. It would seem much easier, therefore, to fill the Egyptian Hall with enthusiastic supporters of resolutions denouncing the opium trade and advocating its suppression, than to grasp all the bearings of the subject and devise a practical mode of dealing with its difficulties.

The meeting which took place last month at the Mansion House, with the Lord Mayor in the chair, and an Archbishop and a Cardinal as chief supporters, passed resolutions declaring it to be "the duty of this country to put an end to the opium trade," and among other things to prevent the growth of the poppy in India, except for medicinal purposes, and to "support the Chinese Government in its efforts to suppress the traffic." I should like to know whether any one of those present ever seriously endeavoured to realise with what result to the Chinese population, and that of India, these measures could be, I will

not say carried out, but attempted ; or whether it was in the power of one, or even of both Governments united, "to put an end" to the trade, and prevent the culture of the poppy in their respective dominions. Of course, the object contemplated was moral and philanthropic, for the benefit of the Chinese under both aspects.

But statesmen and ministers, on whom the responsibility of administration and government rests, are not able to proceed on such lines without reference to the means and the probable results. And not only is it necessary that in such a case as this they should carefully consider by what practical means the end could be attained, but whether other and worse evils than those denounced might not follow their adoption. Under these circumstances, and in view of the important bearing of this trade on our relations with China, and the material interests of our Indian Empire, it would seem desirable that the chief arguments and facts on both sides should be placed at this time before the public in a compact and readable form. It is true that these may be found in various Blue Books, and minutes of the evidence obtained by Special Committees of both Houses of Parliament, and other public documents. But many of these, going back over a series of years, are virtually buried ; and, judging from the speeches at the Mansion House and the successive debates on the opium question in Parliament, there would appear to be great need of some more accessible information on the whole subject of our relations with China and this vexed question of opium. I propose, therefore, in the following pages to review briefly all the leading facts most necessary to a right understanding of the points at issue.

Some information of a valuable and reliable nature has quite recently been afforded by a Yellow Book on "Opium," emanating from the Inspector-General of Maritime Customs in China ; and, like all that proceeds from that source under the able and energetic administration of Mr. Hart, it leaves little to be desired in lucid arrangement. The Statistical Department of the India Office has also opportunely furnished valuable papers, bringing our knowledge up to the latest date, as to the opium revenue, culture, &c. In addition, a further correspondence between Sir Thomas Wade, our Minister in China, and Prince Kung, respecting the delay in ratifying the Convention of 1878—the latest attempt on the part of the two Governments to deal with this burning question—has just appeared. Under these circumstances, agreeing with one of the most strenuous advocates of anti-opium agitation, that "few are acquainted with the facts, and one of the first things is to spread relevant information," I proceed to do my part in this good work.

To understand the present state of the opium question and our relations with China in respect to it, something must be known of the past history of both.

The foreign trade in opium is comparatively of recent growth. In 1767 the importation of opium did not exceed 1,000 chests, and it continued at that rate in Portuguese hands for some years. It was not until 1773 that the East India Company made its first shipment in a very small way. In 1781, exactly a century ago, they freighted a vessel with 1,600 chests. Sold at a loss to one of the Hong merchants at Canton, and found unsaleable, it was finally reshipped by him



for the Archipelago. A depôt of two small vessels had the same year been formed by the English in the Canton waters.

In 1793 only, the Chinese authorities began to object to this proceeding. A single vessel was then sent to Whampoa (an anchorage twelve miles from Canton), in no way connected with the East India Company, and does not appear to have been molested. This state of things continued without any noticeable incident until 1820, during an interval therefore of some twenty-seven years, when an order was issued by the Governor of Canton forbidding any vessel entering the port with opium on board. To judge by the language—a very uncertain guide, however—His Excellency was quite in earnest. “Be careful,” he concludes, “and do not read this proclamation as a mere matter of form, and so tread within the net of the law, for you will find your escape as impracticable as it is for a man to bite his own navel.” The appearance of this document was no doubt in consequence of an edict emanating from Peking, prohibiting the drug under heavy penalties, for the alleged reason that “it wasted the time and destroyed the property of the people of the Innerland, leading them to exchange their silver and commodities for the vile dirt of the foreigner.” Notwithstanding these official acts, however, from this time to the close of the East India Company’s monopoly in 1834, so far from escape from “the net of the law” being impracticable, the contraband trade in opium off the Bogue, at the mouth of the Canton River, and along the coast northwards for some distance, continued uninterruptedly and assumed something of a “*regular*” character : so far as an established tariff of fees to be paid for the undisguised connivance of the authorities at Canton could regularise an officially “prohibited,” and therefore technically a “contraband” trade. During the eighteen months before Commissioner Lin’s raid in 1839, the trade of Canton was actually carried on in four boats carrying the Viceroy’s flag, commonly called “Fast-crabs,” and “Scrambling Dragons,” which paid a regular fee to the Custom House and military posts.

In the interval, however, after the end of the East India Company’s monopoly, Her Majesty’s Government had taken over the direction, and sent out a Commission, with Lord Napier as its chief. From this change, not very wisely inaugurated without any previous communication, either with the Chinese Government at Peking or its chief authority at Canton, a violent contention had arisen between the Chief Commissioner and the Viceroy. Lord Napier was instructed to proceed to Canton and announce his arrival by letter to the Viceroy. His Lordship not only began inauspiciously by having proceeded to Canton without the license or permission theretofore required from the Viceroy, but insisted of addressing this high officer by letter direct and on equal terms, as the British representative, instead of by humble “petition” sent through the Chinese Hong merchants, the usual course followed by the Select Committee of the East India Company. This was treated by the Chinese as an unheard-of act of presumption ; and the Viceroy indignantly refused to receive, or let any of his subordinates receive, such a communication, and finally ordered a blockade of the factory, the stoppage of trade, provisions, and various other menacing measures. Lord Napier styled him a “presumptuous savage.” and the Viceroy in his proclamations spoke of his Lordship as a “Bar-

barian eye" on whom it was incumbent to "obey and keep the laws and statutes." "There has never been such a thing as outside barbarians sending in a letter," wrote the Governor in great wrath to the Hong merchants.

It was evident the two pretensions—the one to the supremacy of a Suzerain State, and the other equality—could not be reconciled, and in effect admitted, under the circumstances, of no compromise. Lord Napier accordingly, in order to prevent further injury to the trade, and personal danger to those in the factory, was compelled to return to Macao, surrounded by an insulting guard of Chinese soldiers, where he shortly after died, harassed in mind and worn out by fever brought on by confinement during several weeks at the factory in a tropical heat.

The Chinese were jubilant and triumphant, and graciously allowed the trade to proceed again as usual. From this time, however, to Lin's proceedings in 1839, all our relations became more and more strained, and in an unsettled condition. As regards opium, the depôt ships continued without serious interference at Lintin, or elsewhere between Macao, Hong Kong, and Canton. But the authorities of both countries, after Lord Napier's mission, were in a false position, and frequent difficulties and threats of interruption to the trade were the consequence;—that being the usual resource, in those days of the Chinese local authorities, to compel obedience from the "outside barbarians."

This troubled period culminated in Commissioner Lin's imprisoning the foreigners in Canton until he extorted the surrender of all opium in Chinese waters, though quite beyond his reach, and otherwise out of his power to seize, by any other exercise of force or authority. The war which followed and terminated in the Treaty of Nanking, in 1842, established our relations, official and commercial, for the first time on a reasonable and well-defined footing. It has commonly been called the "Opium War;" and it was, no doubt, as so often asserted "intimately connected with the illegal traffic in opium"—and yet, had there been no opium or illegal trade of any kind in question, the same causes would have lead to the same results. The causes were in operation during the whole period the foreign trade at Canton existed. Violent and arbitrary measures of a kind both oppressive and utterly unjustifiable, were so frequent that they must have lead to a total rupture and war, sooner or later, as the only way of remedying a condition of things altogether intolerable.

The war and the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 left the trade in opium on the same footing as before—an unrecognised, and therefore, so far as Chinese legislation was concerned, a prohibited and illegal trade, with power untouched to deal with it as the Government of China might deem best—by the seizure of ships in their waters, or of the drug, when landed on their shores;—and any other repressive and penal measures they might see fit to apply to their own subjects. What they did under these circumstances we shall see presently. If we now trace the progress of the trade in opium, from the year 1790, to 1820, during which period the import of the drug had never exceeded 5,000 chests, and rarely amounted to more than 4,000; and thence on to 1840, when the war commenced, we find that in 1830 the importation



had increased to 16,873 chests; and thenceforth each decade to the present date had shown a continuous and large increase. In 1840 it had reached 20,619 chests (the quantity destroyed by Lin in the Canton waters), and from that year to 1850 it increased to 52,925 chests. In 1860 the quantity imported into China\* was 59,405 chests, according to the best statistics attainable by Mr. Commissioner Dick, without Custom House returns, Hong Kong being a free port. In 1870 it increased to 95,045 piculs,† and in 1880 to 96,839 piculs. This last amount is slightly over the average quantity sent annually to China during the whole decade preceding; the smallest quantity in any one of these being (in 1875) 84,619 piculs, and the highest (in 1879) 107,970. The average for the whole decade is 88,590 piculs, showing the fluctuation to have been from 84,619 to 107,970, with a variable tendency to increase.

From this retrospect it will be seen it was not the English, as so constantly assumed, but the Portuguese, who first imported opium into China. Secondly, that in 1781 the foreign trade in the drug was so insignificant that 1,600 chests could not be sold. At this date, then, we may fairly conclude that, if the Chinese had any acquaintance with opium, otherwise than as a medicine, they did not derive their supplies from abroad—from India or elsewhere. Dr. Wells Williams, who doubts whether the Chinese had long known opium, even as a medicine, admits that, from the way the poppy is mentioned in the *Chinese Herbal*, compiled more than two centuries ago, there is reason to suppose it to be indigenous. And as both the plant and the inspissated juice, together with the mode of collecting the latter, is mentioned, the inference is clearly that it was well known at this period, and in common use otherwise than as a medicine. We know, further, that in the *General History of the Southern Province of Yunnan*, which was revised and republished in the first year of Kien-Lung's reign‡ (A.D. 1736), opium is noted as a common product of Yung-Chang-Foo, and Mr. Hobson, the Commissioner of Customs, says truly, "if 134 years ago so much opium was produced as to deserve notice in such a work," it may well have increased since, and could be no novelty at the beginning of the present century. Dr. Williams, in his exhaustive chapter on the opium trade, hazards a guess that, "as the natives of Assam and the adjoining region have used opium for a long period, it is not unlikely that it was made known to the Chinese from that quarter." Whether it be likely or not, there is no evidence of the fact. And, if so derived, the Chinese must have bettered their instructions by inventing the opium pipe, and "*smoking*" instead of "*eating*" or "*drinking*" it, as they do yet in India and the adjoining countries. He readily admits, at all events, that "none was imported coast-wise for scores of years

\* See Report of Imperial Maritime Customs, ii. Special series, No. 4, on Opium ("Hong Kong Statistics"), published by order of the Inspector-General of Customs, just issued.

† The *Malwa* opium chests are equivalent to one picul, but *Patna* and *Benares* to one picul twenty catties—that is twenty catties more; but only 40 per cent. of the total imports in the last ten years consisted of *Patna* and *Benares* (the Government opium), *Malwa* being the production of native States, and amounts to 60 per cent. of the whole quantity imported into China from India.

‡ See Mr. Hobson's Report for 1868 in Reports on Trade, published by the Inspector-General of Maritime Customs.

after that date." It is beyond all doubt that the use of opium has been general amongst Asiatic nations as a stimulant and narcotic from a time unknown, and consumed in one form or other, much as wine, beer, and spirits are used by Europeans. We cannot even say what country is the original habitat of the poppy. It is cultivated in India, Asia Minor, Persia and Egypt, and, if not indigenous in China, it has certainly for a very long time been cultivated there by the natives.

For our present purpose it is unimportant how far back in the last century—that is, before any foreign opium was imported—the cultivation and consumption of the produce became common. In 1792, the date of Lord Macartney's embassy, Barrow mentions the prevalent use of the drug by officials and others in the upper ranks of society; and yet at that date, and for thirty years later, the whole amount of imported opium did not exceed 4,000 chests, and without showing any tendency in that period to increase. But it is important to know what the Chinese themselves were doing in the production of native opium during this long interval. And we are not left in much doubt on that subject; for, if Imperial edicts and proclamations of local authorities have answered no other useful purpose, they supply the most indisputable evidence of the poppy culture in China. It is commonly assumed that all these edicts were solely directed against the importation of foreign opium and all who consumed it. But many of these are directed against the Emperor's own subjects for growing the poppy against his reiterated commands. In 1796, it is true, the foreign opium was prohibited under heavy penalties, on account of its "wasting the time and destroying the property of the people of the Innerland, leading them to exchange their silver and commodities for the vile dirt of foreign countries," as mentioned before. And the supercargoes of the Company at that time recommended the directors of the East India Company to prohibit its shipment to China—the measure now advocated by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. But this could not be done then, any more than it can be done now; though they did all that was in their power to give effect to the Imperial edict, by prohibiting their own ships bringing it to China, which order, unlike the Emperor's, was obeyed.

It would occupy too much space to quote many of these evidences of the general prevalence of opium cultivation by the Chinese. Mr. Watters, a consular officer stationed at Ichang, on the Upper Yangtze, made special inquiries, at my desire, in 1865 into the origin of opium-smoking, and he was led to the conclusion that it had existed for centuries. He found the opium consumed in the West was locally produced, and Indian opium "did not pass higher up the Yangtze than the port Hankow and surrounding districts; and was not imported by any channel into Western Hu-pei, Szechuen, or the other provinces of the West." *Indian* opium was only consumed as a general rule, in the provinces in which the Treaty Ports are situated, and there was smoked mostly by the well-to-do-classes, while the common people smoked chiefly the native drug.

The production of Chinese opium in the province of Szechuen appeared by all accounts to be greater than the whole amount of the Indian crop, Malwa, Patna, and Benares put together. "All over



Western China," he reports, "the conditions of poppy culture, as far as the officials are concerned, are those of perfect freedom, and even open encouragement." And other witnesses attest that, in like manner, there is no obstacle whatever to the cultivation of opium throughout the length and breadth of the land. Although nominally the laws of China forbid the cultivation of opium, it is actually encouraged by the high tariff placed on the foreign drug; the Likin taxes regularly levied on the native produce being fifty per cent. lower than those charged on foreign opium. Where do these taxes go? To the provincial treasuries and the constituted authorities of the country. What can be the worth, then, of Imperial edicts prohibiting the consumption and the native culture of opium, when the whole of the governing classes either openly or covertly encourage and profit by it? Thus, for example, Li-Hung Chang, who was, and is at this day, one of the most influential of the Viceroys, and a leading statesman, who lately wrote an official letter in a highly moral and aggrieved tone on the subject of the foreign opium trade and the cruel wrong we inflicted on his country by it; when governor-general of the Hukwang province, he actively employed himself both in Honan, which he also governed provisionally, and in the adjoining province—then under his brother's rule—in promoting the cultivation of the poppy. Reports reached me at the time that a large portion of the province of Szechuen was given up to the culture under this influence. And on the appearance of an Imperial edict reiterating the standing prohibition, he memorialised the throne for leave to issue licences for the cultivation of the poppy as a productive source of revenue, and a means of further preventing the consumption of foreign opium (a much more pernicious drug, as he alleged)—the importation of which impoverished the nation!

What could the Emperor's prohibitory edicts effect under such conflicting conditions? In 1869 one of the censors, Yuen-ho-Chung, memorialised the Emperor, urging that the cultivation of the poppy should be sternly prohibited, and it was published in the *Peking Gazette* of the 21st of January, with an edict in conformity, referring to previous edicts to the same effect, and enjoining once more the high officers and magistrates to enforce the prohibitions. This censor states that "the cultivation of the poppy is attended with grave prejudice to the people's means of subsistence; that the culture, beginning at Kansu, has spread to Shensi and Shansi, and has now gradually extended to Kiangsu, Honan, Shantung, and other provinces—in a word, all over China." This last assertion was not strictly true, for all the reports I received at that time tended to show that a longitudinal line might be drawn from north to south, dividing the eastern provinces, in which were all the Treaty Ports, from the western and southern provinces, and in the latter only the native culture and consumption would be found general—very little Indian opium finding its way there—while to the east little else was in demand. Thus it is evident that whatever prejudice may arise to the Chinese from the importation of Indian opium, it is very closely limited to the eastern or sea-coast provinces in immediate connection with the Treaty Ports; so that the Chinese alone were and are responsible for all the rest, exceeding, to all appearance, in area of cultivation and amount of produce, the land so employed in India, and all the foreign opium imported. A large

portion of the Chinese opium-smokers belong to these western provinces, and by all accounts their population is to this day practically unacquainted with foreign opium.

Further evidence on this head can hardly be necessary. I will only quote one more testimony, furnished by Mr. Baber, the Chinese Secretary of H.M.'s Legation, and a most intelligent observer, who was sent with Mr. Grosvenor's mission to Moulmein after Mr. Margary's murder. The following is his report on the opium cultivation coming under his observation in his journey to the southern limits of China, through a great tract of country very little known to Europeans :—

“We were astounded at the extent of the poppy cultivation both in Ssü-ch'uan and Yünnan; we first heard of it on the boundary line between Hu-pei and Ssü-ch'uan, in a cottage which appears in an illustration given in the work of Captain Blackiston, the highest cottage on the right of the sketch. A few miles south of this spot the most valuable variety of native opium is produced. In ascending the river, wherever cultivation existed we found numerous fields of poppy. Even the sandy banks were often planted with it down to the water's edge; but it was not until we began our land journey in Yünnan that we fairly realised the enormous extent of its production. With some fear of being discredited, but at the same time with a consciousness that I am underestimating the proportion, I estimate that the poppy-fields constitute a third of the whole cultivation of Yünnan. We saw the gradual process of its growth from the appearance of the young spikelets above ground in January or earlier, to the full luxuriance of the red, white, and purple flowers, which were already falling in May. In that month the farmers were trying the juice, but we did not see the harvest gathered. We walked some hundreds of miles through poppies; we breakfasted among poppies; we shot wild ducks in the poppies. Even wretched little hovels in the mountains were generally attended by a poppy patch.”

These are facts, the important bearing of which on the whole question can neither be mistaken nor denied.

It must now have been made evident beyond dispute that neither before Lin's high-handed proceedings at Canton in 1839, the one solitary instance of decided action before or since that period, nor subsequent to the Treaty of Nanking, has any Chinese authority attempted to give effect to the successive edicts prohibiting the import of opium by foreigners and the culture of the poppy by the natives on Chinese soil. Why have they not? Up to 1839 they acknowledged no rights of foreigners, and recognised no foreign State except as humble tributaries. In the depth of their ignorance and immeasurable conceit, they looked upon all other nations as outside barbarians—without appeal to any law but the will of the Emperor. They knew nothing of international law, if they had ever heard of it, and treated everything foreign with the most profound contempt.

If the Emperor, the Chinese authorities, and people, as has been so often represented, were honestly and intently bent on putting an end to all opium trade and smoking, why did they not act up to their asseverations? It has been shown that up to 1820 the foreign import was so insignificant and of so little importance to England or India, that,



so far as foreign powers were concerned, there was absolutely nothing to deter the Chinese Government from acting as free agents. Even for twenty years later this was still true. Still less was there any possible fear of interference with the Emperor in any action he might take to stop the cultivation of the poppy by his own subjects. Why did he not do so? There was here clearly either a want of will or of power—which?—probably both in varying degrees.

There was, no doubt, and has always has been, a sort of half-hearted desire to check the prevalence of opium-smoking, and more especially the foreign importation of the drug. A very hearty sincerity, I believe, in condemning the habit as prolific of much evil. But this sort of moral feeling with which an intemperate man in this country may condemn the vice he indulges in, and cannot or will not refrain from, does not supply the will to resist or fly from the evil. It is easier to condemn the habit, and cast upon others the blame for not depriving him of the means of indulgence. The public-house or the spirit merchant may be cursed for supplying the enemy that steals away his brains and ruins his health. That is a sort of vicarious virtue common enough in China as in England. In the meantime, to cast obloquy upon the outside barbarian, as the purveyor of a drug they desire to buy, and shield their own imbecile proceedings behind the liberal censure bestowed upon him, was entirely in accordance with Chinese views of national policy. For half a century there was no Indian revenue at stake, and no international rights to prevent their driving all opium ships away, or, if they cared to do so, all foreign trade. And all this time they only issued edicts, and made a large profit by the smuggling fees, so long as it was a prohibited article. The Hoppo of Canton, at the head of the Customs, was himself a Court-appointed official, who was required to furnish annually a large subsidy for the civil list of the Emperor and his Court at Peking. Perhaps this may afford some explanation.

In view of all the evidence now before the reader of the absence of all serious effort either to restrain the foreign import or the native culture of opium during this long stretch of years, what is to be said of the emotional sentiment of Li-Hung Chang's answer to the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade? His reference to the wide and unchecked extension of the poppy-fields in China is a curiosity even in diplomatic experience. He says that the "poppy is certainly surreptitiously grown in some parts of China, notwithstanding the laws and frequent Imperial edicts prohibiting the cultivation." Surreptitiously? That is, over the half of China, and with payment of taxes sanctioned, at his suggestion, by Imperial order! This is surely the triumph of misrepresentation unchecked by any regard for facts. But the next sentence is still finer, when he adds: "I may take the opportunity to assert here, once for all, that the single aim of my Government in taxing opium will be in the future, as it has always been in the past, to repress the traffic, never to gain revenue from such a source." The last phase of his negotiations with Sir Thomas Wade in the Convention of Chefoo supplies a very curious commentary. The whole object of the clause devoted to opium is not only an increase of 30 taels on the import duty, but a device for securing the gathering of a Likin tax, within the port, which they found it otherwise difficult to collect, and which was the cause of a three years' delay in the ratification of the

Treaty. As regards the levy of duties on the Indian opium, the moment it passes into the interior, neither the Treaty of Nanking, nor that of Tientsin in 1858, laid the slightest restraint upon the Chinese Government in this respect. While guarding other goods from extortions, or prohibitive taxes in the interior, opium was expressly left to the uncontrolled will of the Chinese authority. The legalisation of the opium trade by the latter treaty did not touch this unrestricted power of taxation. It only fixed the amount to be paid as an *import duty* to the Customs at the port of entry. The sole difference it made was by removing it from the list of prohibited articles, and therefore taking away the right of the Chinese Customs to seize and confiscate both ships and goods engaged in the traffic—a right which they had never exercised, though always at their option.

Li-Hung Chang concludes with a peroration worthy of the context :—

“My Government (he says) is impressed with the necessity of making strenuous efforts to control this flood of opium before it overwhelms the whole country. The new treaty with the United States containing the prohibitory clause against opium encourages the belief that the broad principles of justice and feelings of humanity will prevail in future relations between China and Western nations. My Government will take effective measures to enforce the laws against the cultivation of the poppy in China, and otherwise check the use of opium, and I earnestly hope that your society, and all right-minded men of your country, will support the efforts China is now making to escape from the thralldom of opium.”

What “efforts China is now making” I cannot say ; but of this we may feel sure, that, if they in any degree resemble those hitherto taken by Li-Hung Chang himself and his Government in the past, all right-minded men, of this and every other country, will decline to accept the general increase in the unchecked growth of the native plant over the larger half of China, and away from all foreign influence or competition, as an evidence of the adoption of “effective measures to enforce the laws against the cultivation of the poppy in China, and otherwise check the use of opium.”

But enough of this last and futile attempt of the Chinese Government, and of their apologists, to appear in open court with clean hands as an injured and oppressed party. It is too hopeless a case for further argument, and in no court of equity could such a plaintiff escape being non-suited by a judge, or jury of honest men. The Chinese Government must be content to stand on common ground with the British in this matter of opium traffic. For any evils that may attach to its consumption in China they must take more than an equal share of responsibility. The Chinese Government any time during fifty years before the war might, with ease and certainty, have stopped the trade. While treating all foreign powers as tributaries and outer barbarians, and their trade and subjects alike as only tolerated within the Chinese limits by the indulgence of a Suzerain, it regarded them as suppliants with no rights of any kind and never scrupled to stop their trade, murder judicially or otherwise innocent foreigners on various pretexts, and harass the traders with arbitrary orders, and extortionate demands. What prevented them ? And any time since, they had the right ex-



pressly reserved by treaty to deal with it as a smuggling trade, liable to its penalties therefore, and to tax the transit of the drug from the coast to the interior to any amount they pleased. They have no *locus standi* on international or political grounds, and no justification for charging the British or Indian Government with having imposed upon them by force, and against their will, a pernicious drug and an injurious trade. They have been consenting parties and participators in the trade and its profits, from the first day to the last.

We may dismiss all further question of complaint on any principle of international law. The *jus gentium* for them has no bearing upon the opium trade. And we are now free to consider the fiscal and commercial interests at stake, and the expediency as a matter of policy, or the practicability of adopting any of the measures urged by the advocates of the total suppression of the Indian trade in opium.

To begin with the Chinese, they are at this moment willingly, not to say eagerly, receiving a revenue through the Maritime Customs on opium, of 2,251,814 taels (£675,544)—which by the Chefoo Convention they are seeking to double. This, independent of all Likin and other inland taxation, in which they have always had uncontrolled power, and which at the lowest estimate, must amount to more than double that sum—say two millions sterling. In India there is a still larger revenue at stake. The gross amount collected in each presidency and province of British India by the latest returns—those of 1880—was £10,319,162, from which is to be deducted the cost of collection, &c.—£2,067,142; leaving a net revenue therefore of £8,252,020. The average of ten years of the gross revenue appears to have been £8,936,068, and deducting costs—£2,067,142—they would reduce the average net revenue to £6,958,926; say, £7,000,000; and the total gross revenue of India for 1880 being £68,484,666, it constitutes about one-eighth of the whole, allowing for costs of collection in both cases.

The trade with China between Great Britain, India and the Colonies, import and export, may be taken at £40,000,000. I cannot find space to go into any of the details, or even to show how inseparably opium, which represents £8,500,000—estimating the quantity at Hong Kong and in China at 100,000 chests, at which the import of the last year appears—must be bound up with all the trade. It must suffice to say that it plays a very important part in adjusting the balance of trade, which would otherwise be against us to nearly that amount, and would have to be made up in bullion, affecting exchange, and every condition of the whole commerce as it now exists.

The British Government is recommended to withdraw the opium element at whatever cost, for the benefit of the Chinese. But what ground is there for assuming that they would be benefited by the withholding of the Indian opium from the market? Can anyone believe, after what has been shown in these pages of the enormous area they have themselves under cultivation, that they would smoke one ounce the less—any Imperial or other edicts to the contrary, notwithstanding? Or failing this, does anyone imagine that foreign opium would not pour in from Turkey, Persia, Egypt, Mozambique, and many other foreign sources; and if not under the British flag, under as many flags as there are nations? It needs no argument to

satisfy anyone with the least knowledge of the constant tendency of trade, that such must be the result.

It is needless to go into the consequences to the Indian Empire if there were a sudden deficit of seven millions and the displacement of at least an equal value in capital and labour employed in the opium culture and trade ; because the avowed object being to moralise and benefit the Chinese, if it fail in that, there is no longer any reason for the ruinous attempt.

It is true, we hear a good deal about the objection, on sentimental rather than rational grounds, to the Government being the encouragers of the cultivation and the manufacturers of the poison, as such advocates are pleased to term it. But Sir George Campbell has well answered this plea in his letter in the *Times*. The action of the Indian Government is so far restrictive, that it limits the cultivation, which might otherwise spread over the territory. The large revenue it collects is in like manner a means of limiting the sale and the consumption. So long as it is under Government control, it remains in their power to further restrict the area if they see fit ; for no vested or private interest can grow up to fetter their action at any future day. My proposal to the Chinese Government in the Convention of 1869 was based on this power. I proposed to give the Chinese an increased import duty, and moreover to allow them to test their power and will to limit and diminish the hitherto unchecked production of opium in their own provinces by an understanding with the Indian Government during a certain period, not to extend the production in India ; and if the Chinese Government kept faith, and showed their power to greatly diminish and more or less rapidly stop the culture of the poppy altogether, and prevent foreign opium from other sources taking its place, the Indian Government would then, *pari passu*, consider how far they could further co-operate by diminishing their own area of culture, having time to substitute other crops and industries to take its place. I think it is to be regretted that such an opportunity of testing the sincerity and power of the Chinese Government to effect the proposed end was lost. They were apparently ready to accept some arrangement of this nature ; but the Convention was not ratified by H.M.'s Government, and the whole matter slept and drifted for another ten years. But, finally, it is impossible that the British Government in India, or the Chinese in China, or both united, could "put an end" to the consumption of opium, or its importation into the latter country ; and even if it were possible for the Indian Government to do so in India, under existing conditions it would be a folly, conferring no benefit on either race, but inflicting incalculable injury on the 250,000,000 of our Indian subjects by a loss of revenue, sufficient to shake the stability of the Government, and seriously affect its power of efficient administration. As to the question of transferring the production and manufacture into private hands, various alternatives have been suggested, and often considered ; but the objections to all these are very serious if not insuperable. Sir G. Campbell may not be quite correct in saying that the Government monopoly is just the Gothenburg system—which some of our great towns would like to try with a view to restricting and controlling the production and sale of intoxicants for the benefit of the people, if the vested interests of the existing publicans did not bar



the way—because, while the Government monopoly does tend to restrict the area of growth, this is not the object in view, but the increase of revenue.

I must conclude, although I could have wished to make this article more complete, and that space would have allowed me to go fully into the moral aspect of the question, which is deeply interesting. But I may at some future date be enabled to take up this part of the subject. All I can say now is to repeat in substance my evidence before the Special Committee of 1871, which will be found, *in extenso*, at page 283 of the printed evidence, to the effect that I distrusted the power of any restraining laws and degrees, and believed they must fail, because a craving for something of a stimulating, intoxicating, or narcotic character was universal; and that there had been no country yet discovered, and no age of the world, in which stimulants and narcotics of some kind or form had not been in use. They amount to more than fifty in number. They are in every possible form, and yet no race, savage or civilised, has ever failed to discover them, though sometimes by very recondite processes, by distillation and fermentation, but always with the same object and result. I also stated, as I do now, that, after a long residence among the Chinese, and with the evidence before me of whole nations and races like the Chinese, preserving great vigour and exceptional power of labour under the most trying conditions of climate, food and soil, I cannot adopt the conclusion that opium exercises no salutary influence, and is simply noxious and destructive. I believe this is only true of those who take it to excess; that these are not the many, but the few, forming only a small percentage of the whole; and that as a cause of crime it is infinitely less dangerous than intoxicating liquors largely consumed in our own land. If any restricted or prohibitory system could avail in preventing the frightful evils brought on by the abuse of spirituous and other liquors at home, I think it should have a fair trial here, before we attempt by forcible means to derange the whole administrative economy and habits of life of the populations of two great Asiatic Empires, respectively containing some 400,000,000 and 250,000,000 of the most industrious and easily governed people in the world. If we cannot succeed at home, we shall certainly not have better fortune in China.

I should be glad, in common with many others, if it were possible, without aggravating the evil and bringing new and worse agencies of mischief into play—that the Indian Government should be relieved of all participation in the growing, manufacturing, and selling of the drug, which is not the proper function of a Government. By licenses, passes, and export duties, some distinguished Indian officials have held that a gradual process of transfer might be effected and this desirable end attained. It was on the supposition that such a power was in their hands that I urged that some arrangement based upon successive limitation might be entered into with China with great advantage.

How far the allegations or convictions of the missionaries are well founded, or otherwise, as to the obstruction and prejudice created by the opium trade, and our active participation in it, I will not attempt to decide. I am bound to say, however, that if time and space permitted, it would not be difficult to show that many other, if not more obvious and influential, causes are in operation, to account for the

small degree of success which has attended their efforts to Christianise the Chinese population. And I will add that I do not believe, after a long residence in China, that the active and latent hostility of the "literati and gentry," who are generally the instigators of all outrages on the missions, or of the official and ruling classes who are so supine, or of the populace that supply the agents of violence, would be other than it is, or suffer any diminution, if there were no opium question to exercise its influence in heightening this prejudice or creating ill-will against the foreign missionary.





## ADVERTISEMENTS.

L.

After having fearlessly introduced myself in the Preface as a merchant dealing in this much despised drug, I hope that as a practical business man I may be excused for remarking here that, at times this article is particularly suited for a safe speculation, as may be fairly inferred from the second paragraph on page 136. Should anyone be desirous to hear more about the commercial merits of the article, *i.e.*, *so soon as circumstances may render it worth my while to issue a circular to that effect*, he is hereby invited to send me his address by means of a ready addressed and stamped envelope, to be simply enclosed in another stamped envelope, directed as follows:—

MERCHANT, Ridge Mount, Anerley, London, S.E.

## II.

On the other hand, should any kindly-disposed reader of this little volume be in possession of additional information respecting the article opium, I would feel greatly obliged by his sending me the particulars thereof, in order to enable me to make use of the same *pro bono publico* in a possible second edition which, naturally enough, I flatter myself may become necessary before long.

Any such communication should be addressed

EDITOR, Ridge Mount, Anerley, London, S.E.

### III.

This first edition being intended chiefly for private sale at the sundry Commercial News or Exchange Rooms, of London, Liverpool, and Manchester, I deemed it superfluous to enter as yet into any agreement with a regular Publisher ; therefore, until further notice, any application by post has to be addressed as follows :—

PUBLISHER, Ridge Mount, Anerley, London, S.E.

and besides containing the full and distinctly written address of the applicant, must be accompanied either by a P.O.O. for 3s. on the Anerley Post Office, and to my order, or by Postal Orders to the same amount which, for safety's sake, ought to be "*crossed Barnettts & Co.,*" and to be filled in for the "*Lombard Street Post Office,*" when with all possible dispatch a copy of this publication will be forwarded by "*Book Post*" and *under registered cover* for the satisfaction of both parties.

Upon personal application at the Hall Porter's Enquiry Office, at 110, Cannon Street, E.C., the single copy can be obtained for 2s. 6d.

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Y.

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